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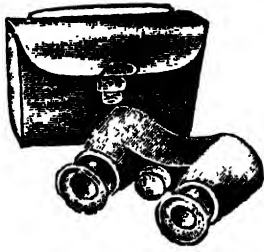
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JULY, 1931

CONTENTS

	Page.
The League of Nations and India—C. V. Hanumantha Rao	1
The Barrier (<i>Poem</i>)—Cyril Modak	12
A Picture of the Salt Industry in Bengal during the days of the prosperity in the Nineteenth Century—Binay-bhusan Dasgupta, M.A., B.C.S.	13
Gold, Silver and the Present Economic Depression—M. K. Muniswami	28
Henrik Ibsen—K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar	32
Kingship in Bengal, Behar and Orissa in ancient times—Sarat Chandra Ghosh	64
Lacrimae Rerum (<i>Poem</i>)—S. C. Bagchi, B.A., LL.B., LL.D., Barrister-at-Law	84
Sir William Watson—Priyaranjan Sen, M.A.	85
Gandhi and Machinery—K. Srinivasa Acharlu	100
A Glimpse into the Literature of Asia—Professor Jaygopal Banerjee, M.A.	107
The Future Constitution of India—Professor Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., D.Sc.	122

REVIEWS :

Critique of Love—J. G. B.	...	...	...	136
Vidyasagar-Prasanga—P. R. Sen	...	...	...	138
A Maid of the Hill. A Poem in two Cantos—P. R. Sen	...	...	...	138
The Religious Basis of World Peace—M. K. Shirazi	...	...	...	139
The Twelve Principal Upanisads—N. C. B.	...	...	...	140
The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni—N. C. B.	...	...	...	140

OURSELVES :

Birth-Day Honours	...	...	...	142
A New Ph.D.	...	...	...	142
Examination Dates	...	...	...	142
Matriculation Examination Results	...	...	...	142
Result of the Preliminary Scientific M.B. Examination.				
April, 1931	...	...	...	143
Result of the First M.B. Examination, April, 1931				143
Result of the Second M.B. Examination, April, 1931				143
Result of the Third M.B. Examination, April 1931				143
Result of the Final M.B. Examination, April 1931				144
Results of the I A and I Sc Examinations				144



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW



JULY, 1931

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND INDIA

A few suggestions.

It will be generally agreed that the League of Nations is the best and greatest security that the world now possesses for peace. It may have its own defects and deficiencies; it may not have been able always to enjoy that measure of loyalty and support from the European nations that it was entitled to; it may have been a fact that all through and up till now it has been dominated by a few powers which have utilized its machinery for the purpose of achieving their own particular ends, and it may be that the country whose Governmental head was instrumental in bringing the League into existence has not yet reconciled itself to its work as to participate in its working: but in spite of all this, the fact cannot be gainsaid that what the League has achieved so far is still considerable and that to-day it is the one force that has kept under control the bellicose propensities of the European nations, that has bound them down to at least an intention not to make war a normal affair and to accept even in theory the principle of peaceful arbitration in the settlement of international disputes. It has achieved many notable triumphs, prominent amongst which may be mentioned the General Act for Pacific Settlement, the acceptance of the amendment to the League Covenant which is generally known as the optional clause and the preparatory

steps which had been taken to bring about general disarmament resulting in the convening of the World Disarmament Conference next year ; and it has paved the way for the establishment of permanent peace in the world.

League dominated by European ideals.

After saying so much in regard to the work accomplished by the League of Nations, it has further to be stated that that body has more or less confined itself so far with only European countries and that it has not interested itself to the extent that is necessary in the affairs of the Asiatic and other non-European countries. This drawback in the work of the League can be explained by two circumstances, first, that European countries have from the beginning dominated the League as it represented to them a reaction against the orgy of bloody warfare which they were engaged in and of which they primarily bore the brunt and secondly that Asiatic countries like China have been too much occupied and torn by internal disorganization and dissensions to devote any great attention to the League, while countries like India which are considered and treated as only the subordinate parts of a vast world political organism like the British Empire have not found themselves in a position materially to influence the decisions of the League, though they have been assigned a glorified international status as original members of the League. Finally as regards America, she has kept herself aloof from the League partly on account of her reluctance to entangle herself in European complications which her membership of the League necessarily entails and partly because she is at variance with the European nations in her conception of settling international disputes, which she desires to achieve by the judicialization of those disputes and their adjudication by the Permanent Court of international justice whereas the latter desire the addition of an appeal to arms to the methods of peaceful adjustment by negotiation. The non-

inclusion of Russia in the League membership is another matter which serves to detract from the value of the decisions of the League in the sphere of their practical application; for Russia is a single big factor in the world to-day standing all by itself for a principle of political and economic organization unheard of in the history of world before. To try to segregate and isolate Russia, which is what the European nations intend to do and have done so far, is a foolish and short-sighted procedure which will render all the efforts of the League futile, when the time for adjudging the practical results of their policy comes. The economic and political doctrines of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia constitute a standing challenge to the other nations of the world and they cannot be ignored with impunity, if permanent peace which is the ideal aimed at is to be realised.

Judicialisation of international disputes.

The defection of America on the one hand and the segregation of Russia on the other are to a large extent responsible for the present inadequate realization by the League of its ideals as an international body; and this feeling is only accentuated when it is realized that the European members of the League have not yet come fully to appreciate the importance of the viewpoint represented by America, *viz.*, that the disputes of an international character should be settled not by a resort to arms but by their being referred to an impartial judicial tribunal or the character of the Permanent Court of International Justice. This reform however presupposes that there is a complete change of heart on the part of the European nations, such as that which has not been evidence so far, and a determination to abjure war as the normal method of settling international disputes, to seek peaceful remedies for their troubles, economic and political, and to develop an international outlook as opposed to the purely nationalistic methods and lastly to make the

League of Nations a real force in practice, which in theory it now is, as an institution for promoting international and world peace. If the European nations are really intent upon peace and if they are really intent upon making the League a worldforce for the ensuring of that peace, they have to do many things from referring to it all their diplomatic disputes to following a consistent policy of reduction of armaments as a permanent guarantee against their drifting into an armed conflict. This change of heart is the only effective guarantee against the all too insistent demand on the part of European nations for security before disarmament can be considered a practical and practicable proposition. The resorting to pacific methods for the settlement of international disputes is an ideal which has not yet taken firm root in the minds of Nations of Europe notwithstanding the fanfare of trumpets which accompanied the conclusion of the Kellog Peace Pact; and the nationalistic spirit that was so hotly denounced as a cause of war is finding new expression in the attempt to constitute an exclusively European conclave known as the United States of Europe. Though the ideal has not yet permeated the hearts of the European countries, it is pretty clear that it is aimed on the one hand against the League of Nations and the work it has been doing and on the other against the Asiatic countries and America. That the scheme has been put through the League is only a device to deceive the world about the true character of the policy actuating its authors and cannot satisfy anyone though for the present the procedure has served to disarm criticism on that score.

League's humanitarian work.

The inadequacy of the League machinery as a guarantee against war and as an instrument for ensuring permanent peace in Europe does not however detract very much from the position it occupies as the only institution that can do anything effectively in that direction. It only points to the imperative

necessity for reorganizing the League on lines which would remove the defects so far noticed and enable it to realize its ideal to as great an extent as possible. But though the League has not been able to accomplish everything that it had set before itself, it has achieved results which cannot be dubbed unsubstantial in the sphere of international co-operation, especially in what may be called its humanitarian aspect. Its work for the promotion of intellectual co-operation between the various countries in the world, its work in the direction of bettering and ameliorating the conditions of labour in the various member states through the International Labour Office, its efforts to bring about an economic rapprochement between the nations with a view to toning down the fiscal barriers that separate one nation from another and lastly, its fight against the continuance of the Slave Traffic in countries like Liberia—all these and many more of the League's activities make it more and more an organ for the general uplift and amelioration of world conditions, the unification of cultures and civilizations and the elimination of racial and social barriers. In all these spheres, the contribution of European nations is considerable, but the co-operation of Eastern nations is essential if these activities are to be really world-wide in their scope and embrace, and of the Eastern nations no other has an equal opportunity of making a definite contribution to their solution as India, which by its position, size, population and ancient tradition, is best fitted to make.

India's position—an anomalous one.

But the position of India, which she is at present occupying in the international sphere, is an anomalous one in a certain sense, in so far as she holds an original membership of the League of Nations, has an independent existence so far as voting on the questions before the League is concerned, and has almost complete freedom either to accept or reject the resolutions of the League, but with all this, if her position vis-a-vis

the other self-governing dominions of the British Empire, she is forced to submit herself to a position and status of subordination. She has all the attributes of a self-governing nation without however possessing the substance of self-government; and the Government of India is, in spite of the international status that she is made to feel she possesses, still more or less the same "subordinate branch" of the British Government that it used to be before the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced. The Secretary of State still retains in theory as well as in practice, perhaps more in the latter than in the former, the final and ultimate control in all important matters. But all the same, it has got to be remembered that the original membership of the League of nations was conferred upon her more as an earnest of the desire of Great Britain and the other European nations, immediately following the war to secure to India a fully self-governing status than as the result of the actual position which she then held, *i.e.*, that of a subordinate dependency. The constitution of the League of Nations stipulates self-government within a country as a preliminary condition to the admission of that country to its original membership and it was the hope held out in the Parliamentary Declaration of August, 1917, that India would ultimately be raised to the status of a self-governing Dominion within the British Commonwealth that helped her to secure a place in the League. Since that declaration was made, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms have been instituted and new conventions have come into vogue and the tendency has become more and more pronounced in the direction of devolving more and more authority on the Government in India and of giving it scope for greater initiative. The statement can therefore be affirmed that the declaration of the goal of British policy in India as the attainment of full Responsible Self-Government of the Dominion type has to a great extent annihilated the hiatus that exists between the "de-facto" and the "de-jure" statuses of India in international affairs. But the need is for a more complete harmonization of the two statuses, for the anomalous

position India occupies at present to be removed, all which can be done by the fulfilment of the ideal of Responsible Self-Government for which Britain is pledged and after which India has been eagerly hankering.

Question of League's interference in India's behalf.

There is a body of opinion in India which holds the view that the question of Indian self-government and the right of India to order her own affairs is an appropriate matter for being referred to the League of Nations for adjudication and settlement in so far as India, being an original member of the League of Nations is entitled to requisition the help of that body in order to secure for herself political justice at the hands of Great Britain. But the League of Nations is pledged to non-interference in the internal affairs of its constituent member states, and therefore a constitutional difficulty may arise as to whether the League of Nations can really intervene in the matter referred to above, as the question of Indian self-government is a domestic question which has to be settled as between India and England alone. The English people may claim, and, too with a certain amount of justice, that as India is only a part of the British Empire and that too only a subordinate part, the question of giving her self-government or withholding it is entirely a matter for the British Parliament and that the League's interference will constitute an encroachment into and an infringement of the sovereign position of the former body, *i.e.*, the British Parliament so far as India is concerned. There is, as has already been observed, some truth in the contention as so stated, but it has to be stated at the same time that Britain, having tacitly agreed to advance India to the status of a full-blown Dominion, and having by that agreement secured to her a position in international affairs second to none of the other members of the League, it rests upon her to enable India fully to possess that Dominion attribute of complete internal independence and external equality with

Great Britain and the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations such that contemplated by the Balfour Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations. The British Dominions of Canada, South Africa and Australia have, as a result of the resolutions of the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930, attained to the position of being "de facto" independent states subject only to the authority of the Crown; and there has been going on a process of devolution of authority from the British Parliament to the Parliament of Dominions, a process which bids fair to become complete shortly and which will serve to make them independent "de jure." A similar transfer of authority should take place in the case of India too in order to reconcile her internal and external constitutional positions, and unto this end, the establishment of a constitution on the basis of full Responsible Government, which would reduce to the lowest possible minimum the powers of the British Parliament and the Secretary of State for India becomes an indispensable necessity.

The coming reforms : what they should aim at.

It is therefore to be hoped that the constitutional changes which are to be introduced hereafter will be such as to achieve the result visualized above. And when India attains to that position of equality with the other Dominions included in the British Commonwealth, she can claim and she will have to be conceded those powers, like that of appointing her own plenipotentiaries to international gatherings, of appointing her own representatives in foreign countries, of concluding commercial and trade conventions which are to her best advantage and of enjoying in other ways all those privileges now enjoyed by Canada, Australia and others. A change in this direction is absolutely essential if India is to be enabled to make her own distinctive contribution to the solution of world problems which she is in a fit position to make considering her cultural heritage, her intense desire for a permanent and lasting peace

in the world and her unique position in the Asiatic continent and the leadership in cultural and intellectual matters which she is destined to take in Asia. Her intra-imperial status will have to be brought into accord with her international status and the stigma of inferiority which attaches to her in the internal counsels of the British Empire should be removed by the raising of her political conditions to one of equality. When this reform is made and when the promises of the British statesmen in regard to India are implemented in practice, then alone will India be in a position to contribute her part and her counsel to the solution of world problems and to take an active and genuine interest in the discussions of the League of Nations, which she cannot do at present owing to her inferior political and constitutional status.

What the League Should do.

It is from this point of view that the League of Nations ought to interest itself in the amelioration of India's status and the League, which is in essence the concentrated mass of world public opinion, should for this purpose bring pressure to bear upon the British Government to settle the Indian question in a satisfactory manner and strengthen India's hands. For the League of Nations exists not only to promote international peace in a negative manner but it has also to undertake positive constructive methods for securing favourable conditions for the promotion of that ideal. It has therefore to remodel its constitution so as to provide the fullest collateral security for the effective carrying out of its political, judicial and mediating functions, which can only be done by something like an organized consensus of mankind adhering on substantial and unmistakable bases of common interests to the cause of a willing peace. It has next to make an effort to enlarge those functions and making them all-embracing by constituting itself a really world organization, which unfortunately it is not now, by enabling America on the

one hand and Russia on the other to join it and by securing the willing co-operation of the Asiatic countries on a basis of perfect equality." If war is to break out in the future, it is realized by all thinking political prophets that the contending parties in it will be Asia *versus* Europe, the Asiatic *versus* the European, the black and the brown *versus* the white. It is going to be a war of races rather than of nations, and is it not the function of the League of Nations to postpone as far as possible if not to avoid permanently the outbreak of that armageddon which can only be done by bringing together into the closest political and economic co-operation and world-partnership the Asiatic and the European races.

And in achieving this result, the judicial aspect of the League's operations ought not to be ignored or lost sight of nor can the economic, the first of which is as potent a force in the sphere of extending the scope of assured peace as the latter is in promoting an armed conflict, if not carefully handled. To avoid the last mentioned consequence and to increase the scope of the first mentioned methods of accelerating world peace should be the one continued and constant endeavour of the League, while to ignore them or to fail to devote special attention to them will be to make that body little more than a precautionary system based upon transitory and ineffective safeguards and its methods little more than negative and limited in scope and delaying and deprecatory in character.

Last of all, but not by any means the least, the League should develop the humanitarian side of its work, the most important item of which is the promotion of Labour interests and the organization of an international Labour code. The politico-juridical apparatus of the League, *viz.*, the League Council and the League Assembly and the Permanent Court of International Justice, have no doubt done much to dissipate and repress the old tendencies of the war-habit; but the peace habit that is slowly gaining ground can be thoroughly organized and established only by the capacity of the League to devise means for making the

peace worth having by establishing a better order or society in the world, means which will serve to make the League an organic instead of a purely mechanical force.

Conclusion.

It is in this last phase of the League of Nations' activities that India, as has been shown in the course of the article, is most interested. She is of course interested also in peace and in economic re-organization, in the harmonizing and adjusting of the trade and the peace policies, but she is more concerned both from her position and her national traditions in the development of international co-operation for cultural and intellectual advancement for human progress along right lines. It is to the problems connected with the development, problems which are not merely European but world-wide in character that India wants to contribute her solutions, as she is convinced that it is through this means alone that a true and lasting peace can be guaranteed in the world. And it is unto this end that Indian Self-government is an undeniable and indispensable necessity and it is for that that India demands Self-government.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO

THE BARRIER

How long will the whispering silvery stream
Of thy majesty keep us thus parted?
It mocks me with laughter as mocketh a dream
That has from life's memories started.
'The boat of a love-name so tender O! send me ;
Or bridge with thy smile this broad river !
'Then bid me and I shall be worshipping thee
All the days of my life—and for ever.
This torturing play from afar that reveals
More grey-green-robed magical beauty
Of thee, my Belovèd, it wantonly steals
My peace and the sense of my duty.
The Loveliness! mantled with youth and with grace,
I long in these arms to make captive ;
And dwell in the light of thy luminous face,
And ravish those kisses elusive.
And hungrily feed on the nectar distilled
From lips so incarnadined, gracious,
And dream of truth, beauty and bliss, ever thrilled
With rapture of love—not fallacious !
How long will the whispering silvery stream
Of thy majesty keep us thus parted?
It mocks me with laughter as mocketh a dream
That has from life's memories started.

CYRIL MODAK

A PICTURE OF THE SALT INDUSTRY IN BENGAL DURING THE DAYS OF THE PROSPERITY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE PROCESS OF MANUFACTURE.

In Bengal, salt was prepared by passing salt water through saline earth and boiling the brine thus obtained in small pots. It was thus composed of four different processes, so to say :

- (1) Obtaining the saline earth ;
- (2) Obtaining the salt water ;
- (3) Passing salt water through the saline earth and thus obtaining the brine ;
- (4) Boiling the brine.

(1) *Obtaining the Saline Earth.*—In a suitable place near the rivers or khals, the Molungheer, as the manufacturer of salt was commonly known, used to make his *chattars* or small rectangular fields. He cleared it of all sorts of grass, roots or particles and scraped the earth on the surface which he deposited on the boundaries which served as a *bund*. He then ploughed it and levelled it by the ladder and kept it exposed to the sun's rays for five or six days which drew the saline components of the earth to the surface. The *chattar* was again levelled by 7 or 8 men treading it with foot and moving sideways. After a further exposure to the sun's rays, all the saline components of the earth rose to the surface and the moistness was evaporated. The earth on the surface became like dust heavily impregnated with salt. The earth obtained by scraping the *chattar* at this stage was the raw material of salt.

(2) *Obtaining Salt Water.*—Near the *chattar* was dug a reservoir about four or five cubits deep which communicated with the river or khal by a drain just high enough to take in

water at high spring tides. This kept the reservoir well supplied with water. The reservoir was kept exposed to sun's rays so that the salt water was condensed to some extent before it was used.

(3) *Filtration*.—The process of filtration was primitive and simple. It consisted of a big basin placed at a height and connected by a hollow reed or bamboo through a hole made at its centre with a receiving basin placed below. The saline earth was placed in the basin and well-pressed by treading it. The salt water was then poured on it which percolated through the saline earth and descended in the receiving vessel, carrying with it the rich saline contents of the earth.

(4) *Boiling*.—The brine thus obtained was boiled in a *choola*, made in a boiling house, in small earthen pots. The pots were placed one upon another in a pyramidal shape, and cemented together by hard clay. A manufactory of salt was known as a *khalarj*.

This was in brief the process of manufacturing salt all over Bengal.

II

THE ORGANISATION OF THE INDUSTRY

(A *brief historical sketch*.)

On the acquisition of the Dewany of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by the East India Company in 1765, the inland trade in salt was vested in an "Exclusive Company" formed by all the officers of the Company: Civil, Military, Medical and Ecclesiastical. This measure meant a complete monopoly of trade in salt in these provinces and to all intents and purposes constituted a monopoly of manufacture also. The profits of the monopoly, after paying certain duties to Government, were divided amongst the members according to the seniority of each and this was considered a compensation for the small salaries received from the treasury.

These arrangements with certain modifications now and then continued till 1768, when the trade in salt was thrown open.

The duty payable to Government by the Exclusive Company was fixed at 35 per cent. *ad valorem*, valuing salt at Arcot Rupees 90 for every hundred maunds. This duty was enhanced by 5 per cent. *ad valorem* in 1767.

The free and open trade in salt was very short-lived and was discontinued only four years after its introduction, *i.e.*, in 1772. The decrease in revenue under the system was decisive argument against it.

Under this system only two restrictions were placed upon the trade, *viz.*—

(1) No one should produce more than 50,000 mds — a measure preventive of a monopoly.

(2) That all salt manufactured must be brought to one or two fixed places to pay the Government duty which was fixed at 30 sicea Rupees for every 100 mds.

Under this system the Government revenue fell from £ 118,926 in 1766-67 to £ 45,027 in 1772-73. This decrease in Revenue is largely due to the “malversations of the “Exclusive Company” which long after its authority to manufacture had ceased, on pretence of selling off its old stock interfered with the business of the honest private trader—and smuggled salt to such an extent as to defraud the Government of duty to an aggregate amount estimated by the Committee of Secrecy in 1773 at upwards of 10 lacs of Rupees.”

It must be noted here that the demands of the public treasury has been a postulate in all discussions on salt since the advent of the East India Company till the present day. The first and most important test to be applied to all suggested changes or improvements in the manufacture or trade of salt has been whether it will bring so much revenue to the public treasury or not. The decision in all matters regarding salt has always rested with the treasury.

Naturally, when the free and open trade in salt failed in the crucial test, no matter to whatever reason the failure was due, Government hastened to change the system. Under the new regulations both the trade and the manufacture of salt were controlled for the benefit of the Government revenue. Merchants were called upon to make a forward contract with Government from year to year for certain quantities of salt deliverable at certain manufacturing places and to advance three-fourths of the costs. The salt works were leased for a term of five years to farmers who undertook, on receiving the said advances, to supply on account of Government, the quantity of salt annually specified, on condition of paying a penalty for supplying less and receiving a premium on supplying more. Government issued orders on the farmers to deliver the contracted quantity to the merchants on the latter's paying off the balance of the cost *plus* the duty upon it.

Under this system the Revenue at once jumped to £229,192 in 1773-74 but subsequently showed considerable decrease, mainly due to the corruption of the chief local officers. Again, the new system failed to satisfy the crucial test and so it was changed in 1777.

This time, it was a simple farming system. The salt *mahals*, each including a set of salt works, were farmed to the highest bidder and the farmers were left free to dispose of their salt in their own way. Naturally the farmers, who were big capitalists, began to exploit the Molunghees as best as they could for their own benefit and the oppression of the Molunghees by the farmers soon grew very severe. So the system had to be changed again in 1780.

Under the new system, introduced by Mr. Hastings' Government the salt-producing tracts were divided into different agencies over each of which was placed a Civil Officer of rank, called the Salt Agent. At the beginning of the manufacturing season, the Molunghees received advances from the Agent, stipulating to deliver to him on account of Government the

whole amount produced, at a price agreed upon. The Agent stored the salt in *golas* and sold it to wholesale dealers without limit of quantity at a price fixed by the Government from year to year. A merchant willing to purchase salt had to deposit the price of the quantity he proposed to take, in the office of the Board of Revenue at Calcutta, which thereupon issued orders on the agent to deliver the quantity to him. The Molunghee's responsibility ceased after he had delivered the salt to the Daroga which was weighed at the Khalary by an weighment establishment kept by the Agent. There were boat contractors who took advances from the Agent for carrying the salt from Khalary to the *local gola* in charge of an Intendant. Daroga's responsibility ceased after he had delivered the salt to the Intendant after weighing it at the *gola*. A preventive establishment was maintained who watched the salt through all processes of manufacture, weighment, and transport, for the prevention of smuggling, or illicit trade. The difference between the cost price of salt and the price at which it was sold to the wholesale dealers constituted the duty on it. Thus an extensive monopoly for the manufacture and sale of salt was set up under the control of Government.

The new system was completely successful. The revenue at once took a big jump and reached £ 625,747 in 1784-85. But in the two succeeding years it declined again and Lord Cornwallis's Government introduced the system of sale by public auction at Calcutta of limited quantities of salt from time to time. Sale at a fixed price without limit of quantity was abolished.

The introduction of quarterly sales of limited quantities of salt by auction had an immediate effect upon the revenue and the fifth report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company noticed with satisfaction in 1812 that the average net revenue of the last three years under the new system had risen to £ 1,360,180.

But this new system had a very injurious effect on the consumers. Naturally under a system of auction sale, the

retail price of salt was subject to violent fluctuations and sub-monopolies were formed under the bigger Government monopoly which extracted the highest possible price from the consumers. We have seen how during 1777-80 the producers of salt suffered hard by the system of farming salt *mahals* to the highest bidder, and now the consumers of salt had their turn of suffering inflicted on them by the system of selling salt to the highest bidder. In both these cases the sufferings were inflicted for the interest of the Revenue.

In 1836 this system of restricted sales to the highest bidder again yielded place to free sale at a fixed price without limit of quantity.

In the year 1835-36, foreign salt made its appearance in the Bengal market and the supply began to increase from year to year. The monopoly began to be assailed from that date but it continued in the same form till 1862 when it was abolished in favour of a free manufacture under excise. That marks the end of the salt industry in Bengal. In 1898 the manufacture was altogether forbidden.

III

THE VOLUME OF PRODUCTION.

(a) *The Figures kept under the Monopoly are correct.*

We have seen that the Government monopoly of the manufacture and sale of salt lasted for about a century, *i.e.*, from 1780 to 1862. During this long period accounts were strictly kept of the amount produced and sold and of the cost of production and of the sale price. A preventive establishment was maintained which towards the later years of the monopoly had acquired sufficient knowledge and skill in putting a stop to illicit trade and manufacture. An estimate of the volume of production will therefore be most reliable during the later years of the monopoly.

(b) *Imports as the Main Determinant of the Home Production.*

We have seen that foreign salt appeared on the Calcutta market in 1835-36 and it increased in volume from year to year. Since then the volume of imports played an important part in determining the amount to be produced at home. The Board of Revenue fixed the quantity to be produced in a season, from year to year in each Agency and in fixing the *taidad*, as this distribution of manufacture among the agencies with their subdivisions, called Aurungs, was termed, the chief factors which the Board had in view were (1) the store in hand and (2) the quantity expected from Liverpool and other places beyond the sea. If more foreign salt was expected, the *taidad* was restricted and if less was expected the *taidad* was correspondingly increased. In fact the volume of foreign imports determined the *taidad* principally, as we shall see below.

Before 1848, salt was produced in four Agencies in Bengal and three Agencies in Orissa. They were—

Bengal.

1. Hidgelee (Contai),
2. Tamlook,
3. 24-Parganas,
4. Chittagong.

Orissa.

1. Purree,
2. Cuttack,
3. Balasore.

In 1835-36 the quantity of foreign salt imported was only 2,84,858 mds. The quantity increased with great regularity from year to year till in 1851-52 it reached the figure of 29,26,866 maunds, being nearly half the salt consumed in the year. The effect of this large increase in importation was the

abolition of the 24-Perganas Agency in 1848 and a suspension of work in the Chittagong Agency in 1858. But the supply from foreign sources unexpectedly suffered a sharp fall in the following years as the following figures will show :—

Year.				Volume of imports in Maunds.
1851-52	...	...	...	29,26,866
1852-53	...	...	...	24,94,331
1853-54	...	...	...	15,61,055

On account of this sharp fall in imports the Government Golas were being quickly depleted and Government at once reopened the Chittagong Agency in 1853. In 1855 the 24-Perganas Agency had also to be reopened.

The above facts clearly show that the volume of foreign imports was the principal determinant of the volume of home-production under the Monopoly.

(c) *Some Figures of Actual Production.*

In 1853 the Salt Agent of Tanlook calculated that the Agency was capable of producing 9 or 10 lacs of maunds of salt in a favourable season. In 1851, the Agency actually produced 9,21,835 maunds; Hidgelee was capable of producing 11 lacs of maunds in a favourable season, Chittagong could produce 9 lacs of maunds in a favourable season and in 1850-51, it actually produced 8,36,334 mds. In 1853-54, the outturn of the Orissa Agencies was as follows :—

					Mds.
Balasore	...	...	...	...	6,72,999
Cuttack	...	...	...	...	3,00,508
Puri	...	...	...	...	7,15,056
					<hr/> 16,88,563

The *taidad* for 1854-55 was as follows :—

Balasore	...	...	...	...	7,00,000
Cuttack	...	...	...	...	6,00,000
Puri	...	...	...	...	9,70,000
					22,70,000

Thus we might fairly say that the capacity of the six Agencies (excluding 24-Perganas) was 52 lacs of maunds in a favourable season. But it must be noted that the weather condition of the season could force a closing of the manufacture early and thus seriously reduce the quantity produced in a year.

Apart from this influence of the season the other most important influence on the volume of production, as we have seen, is the volume of foreign imports. The two have always varied inversely with each other. The influence of the season was however negligible in comparison to the volume of foreign imports. The variation due to the former was always confined to a small percentage but the variation due to the latter could reduce the volume of home production even by more than 50 p.c. The following are the figures of actual production in the Tamluk Agency.

Year.	Tamluk.	Actual outturn
	Mds.	Mds.
1850	5,50,000	8,43,269
1851	9,00,000	9,21,835
1852	8,00,000	7,06,695

IV

THE DEMAND.

In the year 1854-55, the total quantity of native salt consumed, including wastage, was—

				Mds.
				4,933,981
Deduct wastage	...	...	...	1,26,881
				<hr/> 48,07,100
Add quantity imported	...	...	...	18,00,000
				<hr/> 66,07,100

Thus the total quantity of illicit salt consumed during the year was 6,607,100 mds.

The figures for the five years previous to this are as follows :—

Year.	Actual quantity taken out for consumption in mds.
1849-50	65,98,305
1850-51	63,11,282
1851-52	60,62,815
1852-53	65,21,927
1853-54	62,76,212

From these figures the average annual demand of the Bengal market could be easily set at 65,00,000 mds.

We have seen that the six agencies could produce as much as 52 lacs maunds of salt. If we add to this the capacity of the 24-Perganas agency and the quantity produced under Excise System and English methods (of which more later), it is quite clear that the home producers could always easily meet the home demand. In fact they had been always doing it before 1835-36 when foreign salt made its first appearance in the Bengal market. But since then the home producers have supplied only the residuary demand, *i.e.*, demand *minus* foreign imports. The following are some of the figures showing the proportion in which the demand has been met by the home production and foreign imports respectively :—

Year.	Imports in mds.	Govt. sales in mds
1849-50 	21,03,219	... ... 33,83,833.
1850-51 	26,01,033	... ... 28,25,100.
1851-52 	29,26,866	... ... 22,39,952.
1852-53 	24,94,331	... ... 31,25,129.
1853-54 	15,61,056	... ... 37,89,914.

V

THE QUALITY OF BENGAL SALT.

The greatest care was taken to preserve the quality of the Bengal boiled salt. The quality could be affected by careless

preparation of the *chattar*, by the dirt that went with the brine, and by careless boiling. The greatest care was however bestowed on the preparation of the *chattar*. It was cleared of all roots and particles very carefully. When the brine was obtained after filtration, it was kept in the basin for twenty-four hours in order to precipitate all impurities. So that the brine was quite pure when it was taken out for boiling. If, however, at the time of boiling the brine is allowed to reach a density beyond 29 Baume crystals of magnesium chloride begin to form and lower the quality of the salt. This was prevented by pouring fresh salt water at regular intervals into the pots in which the brine was being boiled. Thus the salt that was made by this process was the salt of the very highest type. It was white, dry and small in grain. In fact it was very difficult to distinguish it from Liverpool salt.

This is the type of salt that Bengal has consumed for centuries and this old habit has permanently affected the requirements of the Bengal market. Salt, in order to have a ready sale in Bengal, must be dry, white and even in grains. That explains why Bengal has always shown a preference for Liverpool salt, which has always sold at a premium.

VI

THE COST OF PRODUCTION.

From what has been said of the Monopoly, it is clear that the organisation of production and sale and the organisation for the collection of salt revenue including the preventive establishment were one and the same. So it was difficult to say how much of the expenditure should be charged to the cost of production of salt and how much to the revenue. Considering that Liverpool salt had to compete with Bengal salt in the same market, the question of this adjustment of the expenditure was a delicate one. It was however accepted as

a principle by Government in later years that the wholesale price to be fixed by Government should be the cost of production of salt *plus* the duty.

Some Items of the Cost of Production.—The principal item is of course the price paid to the Molunghee. This price is agreed upon at the beginning of the season and varies from place to place according to circumstances. Thus in Chittagong, the Molunghee has to purchase his own fuel, but in Tamlook, Hidgelee and 24-Perganas, the fuel is collected by the Molunghee, free of cost, from the extensive *Jalpai* lands belonging to Government, which are overgrown with jungles. These lands originally belonged to the Zamindars who had also the right to manufacture salt, but were taken over from them when the monopoly was formed in consideration for a *Khalary rent* and a *Masowara* paid by Government from year to year. The *Khalary* rents were in the nature of abatement of revenue but the *Masowara* was a compensation paid for depriving the Zamindars of the right to manufacture salt.

Thus the second item of cost of production, in these agencies was the *Khalary* rents and *Masowara*.

The third item was the cost of transport from the *khalarics* to the Local Gola in charge of an Indendant. The Daroga was in charge of this transport operation. The cost of transport in Tamlook varied from Rs. 1-14 to Rs. 4-8 per 100 mds. and in Chittagong it varied from Rs. 4-15 to Rs. 6-3 per 100 mds.

The fourth item was *wastage*. The wastage was allowed at two places.

The Daroga was allowed $2\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. between the weight at the *Khalary* and the weight at the Gola, and the Indendant was allowed $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the Gola.

The fifth item is a portion of the establishment under the Salt Agent which was partly a charge on the cost of salt and partly a charge on the revenue.

Add to the cost price of salt the duty leviable in each year and you get the wholesale price of salt.

The following are some of the figures showing the rate paid to the Molunghee and the wholesale price of salt at the Agency Golas in the Fifties.

	Rate paid to Molunghee per maund.	Wholesale at the Agency Golas per 100 mds. Rs.
Hidgelee	5½ (annas)	301
Tamlook	6½ „	318
Chittagong	7 „	318

The wholesale price is inclusive of a duty of Rs. 250 per 100 maunds so that the price of salt *minus* the duty was Rs. 51 per 100 mds. at Hidgelee and Rs. 68 per 100 mds. at Tamlook and Chittagong.

VII

PRICES OF LIVERPOOL AND MADRAS SALT EX-SHIP IN CALCUTTA

Mr. Worthington in the 4th Report, Indian Territories, 1853, calculated the price of Liverpool salt ex-ship in Calcutta as follows :—

	Rs.
E. C. B. at Liverpool	28·8 per 10 mds.
Freight	46·0 „ „ „
	<hr/>
	59·8
Import duty	209
	<hr/>
	Rs. 319·8 per 100 mds.

The price of Madras salt ex-ship in Calcutta was in 1845 calculated as follows :—

	Rs.
E. C. B. at Madras	15 per 100 mds.
Freight	36·7 „ „ „
	<hr/>
	51·7
	250
	<hr/>
	Rs. 301·7 per 100 mds.

In Madras, salt could be made at $\frac{1}{5}$ the cost in Bengal. The average cost 120 mds. of Madras salt was calculated in 1855 to be Rs. 14'1 only. The progress of manufacture was a simple and condensing brine obtained from the sea by a solar evaporation.

VIII

THE VOLUME OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE INDUSTRY

The term Molunghee was indifferently used to mean anyone who worked on the Khalary. It might mean a contractor or a coolie according to the locality. These Molunghees, including the coolies were of course the most numerous class of employees under the salt industry.

Next to the Molunghees came the Boat contractors who had found employment in the transport of salt from the Khalaries to the Gola. In case of Khalaries situated at a distance from the khals or rivers, the help of bullock carts was also necessary.

Besides these, there was a big establishment, both temporary and fixed, under the Agent. The Salt Agent of Tamlook made the following estimate of employment under him in 1853 :—

Molunghees	2,303
Coolies	14,407
Boatmen	2,500
Bullock-drivers	100
Temporary establishment	575
Weighment	640
Fixed	100
	20,325

About the same time Hidgelee employed 2,123 Molunghees plus 11,557 coolies, Balasore employed 15,684 Molunghees including coolies, Cuttack, 5,417 and Puri 15,443. From the above figures, it would be quite clear that fairly, over a lac of people found employment in the salt industry and of these between 60 and 70 thousands were in Bengal proper.

We must note that our estimate of the volume of employment given by the salt industry refers to a period when half of the Bengal's demand was supplied from foreign sources. Then it will not be unfair to suggest that well over 2 lacs of people found employment in the salt industry in Bengal and Orissa during the Thirties and Forties of the last century. And of this number employed well over a lac certainly belonged to Bengal proper.

IX

THE CONDITION OF THE MOLUNGHEES.

The great merit of the salt industry, as affecting the economic condition of the people, was that it wonderfully fitted in with the economic environments. The manufacturing season started in October or November and went right up to June, weather permitting. Thus the industry offered an excellent subsidiary employment for an agricultural population. The people after harvesting their paddy in November or December could at once find an easy employment in salt manufacture, and the break of monsoon closed the manufacture only to divert the people back to agriculture. This is really an ideal economic condition which found employment for an agricultural population throughout the whole year. In 1852 it was estimated that $\frac{3}{4}$ th of the agricultural population of Hidgelee were employed in the salt industry as well.

I should like to quote here the testimony of Mr. Holt Mackenzie, an Officer of the East Indian Company who served in a large salt-producing district in Bengal. The condition of the Molunghees, he said, was "much superior to that of most of the other ryots of Bengal with whom I came in contact ; they are most comfortably off, their dwellings are larger and better, and more comfortable and everything about them gives signs of wealth which it would be natural enough to expect, such as you do not find in other districts where the Molunghees are not employed."

BINAYBHUSHAN DASGUPTA

GOLD, SILVER AND THE PRESENT ECONOMIC DEPRESSION.

The present economic depression being a world-phenomenon traceable to factors, which more or less affect the world, it has been suggested, that purely local remedies such as co-operative marketing, or temporary converting of stocks, either by an independent organization or by the Governments of the country, are not likely to radically cure this disease, and that internationally concerted action is necessary, if the present fall in prices of all commodities is to be arrested. The mere application of local remedies, though it might mitigate the severity of the depression, in particular countries, will not give complete relief from the existing depression.

When economists speak of international regulation for overcoming the present depression, we may distinguish between two sets of proposals; (1) International regulation of stocks of agricultural and manufacturing commodities of the world, introducing possibly a quota system, fixing the stocks of wheat, steel and iron goods, rubber, tin, etc., which each country might possess. (2) Redistribution of existing gold resources, amongst the Central Banks of the World.

Non-international action, in regard to commodities, to increase their prices, must embrace simultaneously existing resources and future accretions. Further, such action must not only restrict existing production, but also exports. Experience as with rubber in the East Indies and coffee in Brazil, has shown us that comparatively poor results flow from such international action: for we find that stocks theoretically off the market, are more or less factors in determining the relation between supply and demand. It is significant that the heavily advertized Chadbourne plan, is a comparatively cautious experiment, in

international economic action. (Under this plan European sugar-exporting countries of the world, are to reduce their exportation 15% every year, for a period of five years, and thus gradually cut down the excessive stocks on hand, which are now choking the industry.) The fact is, though it is easy to suggest international economic action, in pursuit of a common aim, the obstacles in the way are formidable when such proposals are made with reference to two commodities and two commodities only, gold and silver. America, France and England, are willing to submit to prolonged depression, rather than redistribute their gold hoardings.

As a writer in the *New Statesman* (January 31, 1931) remarks, French hostility and American ignorance are, at this moment, the principal obstacles to the restoration of a stable basis for world economic advance. If for some reason or other, international regulation of the existing stock of gold, allocating to particular countries particular stocks of gold, is found impossible (and the existing political situation in Europe does not augur well for joint or common action: for we have Great Britain, on the one hand, putting forward proposals for Empire Economic Unity and France, as a counter move, promoting the scheme of a United States of Europe), an alternative basis for existing internal exchange, might well be found, in silver or some other medium. Exploration of the possibility of such a basis for currency, would affect the value of gold, especially the American and French hoards of gold.

Even those students of the subject who have emphasised the monetary causes for this depression, have not paid sufficient attention to the position of silver. With the greater use of silver, by at least some countries of the world, the present abnormally low price of silver would disappear and rehabilitation of silver, increasing the value of silver hoardings in India and China, would greatly increase the purchasing power of a substantial percentage of the world, and increase European exports to Eastern countries.

Silver is a commodity, the regulation of whose value, with a view to its rehabilitation, is dependent on international action. It has been suggested, in some quarters, that stoppage of silver sales by the Government of India, in an already depressed market, together with the levy of increased duties on imports of silver would put up the price of silver. But, it must be remembered, in this connection, that action on the part of the Government of India, alone, will not rehabilitate silver, and concerted action amongst America, Great Britain, China and India, would seem to be necessary. It is only fair to notice, in this connection, that this kind of economic diagnosis is not accepted by a certain school of economists, represented by such writers as J. A. Hobson. Doctors disagree, even in the diagnosis of this malady, and naturally their prescriptions by way of remedies are found to be different. According to J. A. Hobson, "Though monetary policy plays its part, the prime cause of trouble is the attempt to save, invest and utilize as capital, a larger proportion of the general income, than is able to operate, in this capacity. The best index of this phenomenon of oversaving, is to be found in the orgies of stock speculation and wild company promotion." This oversaving is due to the unequal distribution of wealth, and the remedy therefore, is a more equitable distribution of wealth, so that people can purchase the whole of the enlarged output of industry" (*vide Capital*, 12th March, 1931).

It must be admitted that there is a substantial element of truth in this view. Both higher wages and larger social services, undertaken by the state, make for a better distribution of the real income and an expansion of consumption: their joint action must be highly beneficial in stimulating industry.

Economists' interpretation and diagnosis of the present trade depression are not entirely satisfactory. To be a successful prophet in economic affairs, one has only to isolate and study phenomenon as purely economic, like students of the social sciences, but also notice the interaction of forces—political,

social and religious—on economic phenomena. It will then be seen that the existing political situation, in many of the countries of the world—nationalist movements in China and India, on the one hand and revolutionary movements in the republics of South America—is responsible for the present uncertainty and diffidence of manufacturers.

To illustrate the effects of political situation on business depression, I need only refer to the recent speech of the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on the effects of the Gandhi-Irwin Truce.

The atmosphere of jealousy and suspicion which still persists, in spite of the attempts made by such bodies as the League of Nations, towards the creation of an international public opinion, on certain questions, must disappear, before international economic action (as distinct from international economic studies) comes into the region of practical politics. The conclusion that emerges then is, (1) the absolute necessity for international economic action, at least with reference to gold and silver, (2) that for such action, to be successful, there must be peaceful and stable conditions, in many of the countries of the world, and they must cease to cherish feelings of ill-will and jealousy towards one another. When will we have such idealism in politics?

M K. MUNISWAMI

HENRIK IBSEN.

PART V. THE APOTHEOSIS OF ISSENISM

I

'*Little Eyolf*,' the next play, described on its title page modestly as 'a Play in Three Acts,' was published in Copenhagen during the second week of December 1894. In its violent unpleasantness and remorseless anguish it recalls Shakespeare's '*Measure for Measure*.' Ibsen's is, of course, more formidable a social thesis, more consistently logical a work of art. However, in the manner the dramatists have forced a happy ending, which is none quite aesthetically satisfying, can easily be discerned a vital similarity in the prevailing mood, a sure identity in workmanship. On the other hand, while working at '*Little Eyolf*' Ibsen seems to have been severely obsessed by the dubious trappings of symbolism. Symbolism interpenetrates it everywhere and knits closely its component parts. This is not to say that the characters are not human: indeed they are all, even the Rat Wife, credible enough in whatever they say or do; one is not certain that such there may not be about him in their dozens. But all their infinitely human lineaments cannot blind the most superficial reader to the fact that these characters are after all what Thomas Hardy called Impersonated Abstractions. Accordingly, in the curve of Ibsen's plays '*Little Eyolf*' occupies a distinctive place somewhat apart from the normal locus.

The play deals in the main with the fortunes of the masterful woman, Rita. Left by her parents sole mistress of abundant 'gold and green forests,' hourly conscious of her eminence, disturbed incessantly by the insidious promptings of youth, she

would fain make a bid for an idealist mode of life that would reveal to her the mysteries of conjugal felicity at their truest and best. In due course she stumbles upon her ideal man and instantly determines to have him all for herself at any cost. Alfred Allmers on whom this lucky choice has fallen is an insignificant school-master whose only aim, so long, has been to protect his tender-hearted half-sister Asta. Alfred while duly recognising the entrancing beauty of Rita is slow to fall head-over heels in love with her. He thinks that his love has sufficient outlet in his daily companionship with Asta. But Rita is insistent. Alfred thinks of her 'gold and green forests,' how these would enable him to ensure the future happiness of his dear Asta. He gives up his position, surrenders himself to the boundless egoism of his wife, and henceforth lives on his wife's estate.

I have often wondered how unique Ibsen's method of retrospective narration is: one scarcely perceives its subtle progress and yet it is triumphantly there. In '*Little Eyolf*' almost the whole of the second act is taken up with delicately unfolding the past history of the Allmers couple. Rita and Alfred in their incredible aloofness from the hurly-burly of normal life, chained together and all but isolated in Rita's family environment, drink for a considerable time the juice of the life they had been thirsting for. Rita has Alfred all to herself, dominates him, makes him her willing prey. Of a stubborn temperament, possessed of an insatiable appetite, inordinately passionate and recklessly egoistic, Rita would interminably wheedle poor Allmers into an overpowering amorous humour and thereby realize her own idealist craving for love and excitement. Alfred, on his part, while being dangerously susceptible to his wife's bodily fascination is a ridiculously weak and ineffectual being and of him it may be said that he is "a fellow almost damned in a fair wife." (My apologies to Mr. Shaw.) Little by little he learns inwardly to shrink at the very sight of his wife and gravitates further and further towards a brotherly companionship with his sister Asta.

As a more intellectual preoccupation he gradually conceives the idea of writing a weighty thesis on the doctrine of Human Responsibility. All this are anathema to Rita: hers is the exclusive egoism which would not "endure to share anything with any one! Not in Love." And here the object of her overwhelming passion is dividing his love between his wife, his sister and that stupid literary recreation of his, the book on Human Responsibility! He protests in vain. The little rift within the lute is already ripped.

In the meantime Rita gives birth to a son, Little Eyolf. This clumsy interlude is to her nothing more than an enforced cessation of her idealist love life with Alfred. With the passage of time she would doubtless have taken Eyolf to her heart and lavished upon him all the bracing tenderness of a doting-mother but ere that could happen some one else, the poor boy's aunt Asta, takes him to *her* heart and effectively bars the way for Rita. Hereafter, though as yet she doesn't wish Eyolf dead, Rita definitely feels him to be an intrusion into her whilom Elysian life. Even as the little rift was imperceptibly thus widening, a terrible thing happens. One day Rita leaves Little Eyolf lying very comfortably on a table, surrounded by cushions, while Allmers keeps watch over the sleeping child. Sometimes later she returns in her most alluring and magnificent mood and the irresistible assault of her charms carries all before it. He forgets the child on the table: in her amorous frenzy she forgets all about him too. In her arms Allmers forgets everything else and in this gross egoism of the flesh Rita is more than a successful partner. In their delirium of mad, devastating passion they are impervious to any other emotion. Fate too chooses this opportune moment to effect its sinister twist in the lives of the lovers. With no hovering angel by his side to come to his rescue, Little Eyolf gently opens his eyes, as gently rolls over and over and even then unnoticed by his parents, so close beside him and still so unforgettable, has a sudden fall. The lovers are rudely brought back to the world of reality. They gasp at the

unsavoury truth : their child must be a cripple for life, eternally encumbered with a crutch.

Asta Allmers is now more than ever indispensable to Little Eyolf. But after the catastrophe the boy finds another zealous guardian in the person of his father. For Alfred, his fanatical zeal for the education of his child, is only a cowardly pretext to keep away from his domineering wife as much as possible. All the time he does not lose sight of his literary mission either ; as a matter of fact all these years he has been sitting bent over his table day after day and often half the night too—writing and writing at the great thick book on ‘ Human Responsibility.’ Asta nerves him up with spirit ; even Eyolf confidently believes that his Papa is writing things “ worth a great deal ” : only Rita finds in this never-ending business a standing torment and pretends to look upon it with sulking indifference. The poor woman is tortured by the bare thought that her husband could possibly entertain affection for such inconsequent matters as a stupid book, the future of a half sister, the education of a crippled boy. The conviction that, try how she may, she cannot alter this unfortunate state of affairs foists upon her the resignation to watch over all these changes with a seeming contentment.

Alfred Allmers is inconsolable in that even the triple force of his attachment to Asta, Eyolf and his forthcoming book is not competent enough to neutralise the ravages on his weak spirit caused by the remnants of Rita’s autocracy and flaming passion. He feels that, should he save himself from a premature extinction, he must take more drastic steps to counteract the will power of his wife. Accordingly he coolly tells his ‘ dearest Rita ’ that he has been ordered a sojourn to the mountains by his doctor. She inwardly unveils the ruse in this proposal but, as her refusal to assent may only widen the breach, she tacitly agrees to her husband’s going up there and live alone for a time in “ the heart of the great mountains.” He wanders aimlessly about the high solitudes and imagines that he is revelling “ in the peace and the luxury of death.” In fact he does nothing of

the sort : a night of restlessness and of fearful uncertainty persuades him to give up once and for all this wild goose chase : he is scared and decides to return home before the appointed time : even the hideous prospect of an encounter with Rita seems insignificant on the face of the immediate possibility of death : he realizes with a pang how very, very much " earth-bound " he is after all.

Rita Allmers is delighted beyond measure. So her dear Alfred is coming home at last ! Alfred's telegram has given her the most welcome news she could ever have hoped to get. Promptly she puts on a splendid white dress, lets down her abundant masses of hair that they may luxuriantly flow down her neck and shoulders, effects " rose-tinted shades over both the lamps " in the sleeping chamber and awaits her Alfred's appearance. But Alfred when he arrives is so " taken up with serious thoughts " that he cares not to notice much any of these things. The very invigorating champagne on the table kept ready for him is forgotten and the tired traveller tastes it not. Rita's boiling expectancy is now filled with terrible misgivings : is it for this insipid calm she has been waiting for ? She begins to undress, her flesh enkindled with passion : but Alfred pretends not to notice her and talks about poor Eyolf's digestion and carelessly slips into his bed and soon sleeps " the sleep of the just." Rita, excited and vengeful, has perforce to swallow this callous indifference and to bide her time.

Morning : " it is an early summer morning, with warm sunshine." The curtain rises over the first act of '*Little Eyolf*.' Mrs. Rita Allmers is introduced as " a handsome, rather tall well-developed blonde, about thirty years of age, dressed in a light-coloured morning gown." She is joined by Asta Allmers who has just arrived by the steamer from Christiania : a restlessly poignant feeling had come over her there and here she is to still its effervescence by seeing Little Eyolf and satisfying herself that the boy is getting on capitally. That Alfred had come back is news to her : he had returned a whole fortnight

before anybody expected him. Meanwhile Alfred comes to them too and with him Little Eyolf. The latter "is undersized and looks delicate, but has beautiful intelligent eyes" Thanks to his father's educational experiments on him, Eyolf has a mighty sense of his responsibility: so much has he got saturated with his father's book-worm attitude towards life that when Alfred reminds him that he "ought to go and play a little in the garden," Eyolf in his turn reminds his father with the pathetic query: "Should I not take some books with me?" Just then they hear some one knocking at the door. Sure enough the repulsive Rat Wife puts in her appearance. She is the hideous counterpart of the Pied Piper of Hamelin. Here is the were-wolf at last of whom Eyolf has been imagining peculiarly disgusting things. The Rat Wife is their most obedient servant: for a mere consideration she could rid their worships of any gnawing things in their house? Haven't they any of the sort there? So handy and convenient an instrument of liberation from these gnawing things may not come their worships' way for many a year to come! The Rat Wife, helped by her never-failing companion Mopseman, the dog, could do the strangest feats: Eyolf, "little wounded warrior" needn't be afraid of her or of her Mopseman. She describes for the company's edification her art: how she and Mopseman lure away the creepers and the crawlers, how the wretched creatures follow them into the deep waters and how there "they sleep a long sweet sleep, with no one to hate them or persecute them anymore." But her ladyship seems to have no use whatsoever for the Rat Wife: she had better make a move: and she goes out without any more ado.

Asta, Alfred and Rita are left alone, Eyolf having by now "cautiously and unnoticed" slipped away from them. It is now that Alfred, after a good deal of beating about the bush, expatiates on the new vocation he has discovered up there in the mountains. Poor Eyolf is taking deeper and deeper hold on him, so he says: his work as school master for Eyolf is

over: he is going to be henceforth all that a conscientious father should be. He is going to strain every nerve of his to see that Eyolf feels his misfortune as painless and easy as it is humanly possible to make him feel. Rita is alarmed at these words: Asta herself little understands them: Alfred proceeds to explain in magnificently professorial fashion: "I will try to perfect all the rich possibilities that are dawning in his childish soul. I will foster all the germs of good in his nature—make them blossom and bear fruit.....I will help him to bring his desires into harmony with what lies attainable before him.....I will create a conscious happiness in his mind." Has the man lost his brains? they involuntarily ask themselves. But there is no stopping him: he goes on as before with enthusiasm, elated, transfigured, fanned to fury more and more by the egoism of his spirit. His resolve is made up: he will mould out of Eyolf the "complete man of our race:" this is to be his new life-work: and as earnest of his life-work and also as an indispensable preliminary condition, Alfred is going to efface himself: the thick book about 'Human Responsibility' too must remain unwritten; rather he will "act out his 'Human Responsibility'—in his own life."

So then this was the truth about it; this was why he acted so strangely the previous night! Slowly, deliberately, Rita muses over these things. She determines to have it out with him. Eyolf! Ever forcing himself betwixt herself and her prey! Asta! Ever dividing Alfred's love with Rita! Gradually she works herself into a frenzy. She seeks out her husband and after retailing his insults heretofore bursts up with the threat: "I'll take my revenge on you, Alfred! I will throw myself straight into the arms of the very first man that comes in my way!" He would scarce believe it: he tries to treat it as a joke: he coaxes her to being reasonable by talking about the Law of Inevitable Change: but she has no ear for these laws: she flares up—"I don't care a bit about

being reasonable! I care only for you! Only for you in all the world!" Eyolf is only half hers: he must be wholly hers! With his dilatory tactics and evasive explanations Alfred is almost goading her to wish that Eyolf had never been born. Her Eyolf's eyes are evil eyes: she has conceived a bitter hatred for them: and it is Alfred who has made Rita so wicked and hateful. Alfred is shocked: he feels himself sinking underground. The vision of Little Eyolf, for one the symbol of liberation and for the other the personation of evil and to neither the human form it is, their one only child, infects the place with the thick atmosphere of hate. But they are soon to be brought deliverance by merciful heavens: they hear confused cries and shouts in the direction of the fiord: they hear agitated exclamations that a child is drowned: 'a little boy,' adds Asta, with inward misgivings: Rita shrieks with feverish palpitations: she listens quietly standing on the verandah, hears the impossible words—"The Crutch is floating"—collapses beside an armchair. Allmers, distracted and stupefied, runs to the fiord hoping to save anyhow "so precious a life!"

The little gnawing thing with deep evil eyes and breeding hate at every turn is out of the way. A day of lamentations, sorrow and very deep mourning follows. Next morning Alfred sits close by the fiord staring fixedly at the sheet of water before him: he visualizes again and again the tragic scene of the previous morning: Little Eyolf helplessly standing at the end of the pier straining his eyes after the fading form of the Rat Wife and of the cur within her bag, turning anon giddy in his thoughts, his evil eyes swimming in the gathering mists about him, his very self, falling down, past all remorse, and so disappearing for ever—the crutch alone excepted!—the scene, strangely enough, when imaginatively lived through, seems to afford a cumbrous salutary sense of self-satisfaction to the egoistical mind of Alfred. Like Olivia in *'Twelfth Night'* would Alfred play with sorrow. But impossible as it seems to him, it is yet an unescapable fact that the calamity has

affected him no less than Rita only skin deep and very naturally he finds it possible to dwell upon quite different matters—to think even of his dinner—than the one which he would whip his mind to ruminate and brood upon. Asta finds him out by now and sits by his side. They reconstruct together the glimmer of happiness they had once called their own: of their life as orphans, the brother helping and being helped by the sister: they catalogue the idiosyncracies of the members of their family, all their names beginning with vowels, all their relations incurably poor, all their eyes shining with an identical colour! By and by Asta is told in so many words that without her life for Alfred would be a nightmare: whatever she may do, Asta ought not to leave her dear brother alone with his wife. Asta is startled: she feels in a flash that the time is come to put on the brakes. He is paralysed: what, is not Asta his own sister? Not have the right to bear his father's name? But surely this discovery, most unexpected though it is, need not drive her away from him! She however thinks otherwise: the love between herself and Alfred, so long unsullied and pure, is as much subject to the law of change as any other. She cannot, will not live with Alfred any more: she positively dares not do it! She would much rather prefer to go far away with Borgheim, the road-maker. She does not love him of course, her love had been very early consecrated to the service of Alfred himself: but Borgheim is so insistent, is heart and soul eager to have Asta “utterly and entirely” his. And if Alfred she could not have, Borgheim is as good as any other!

Ibsen concocts in between the Asta-Alfred conversations another scene of spiritual duel, this time the protagonists being Rita and Allmers. The latter fires the first shot by accusing Rita of having wished the death of Eyolf, of having exorcised doubly evil spirits to chase away “the child's evil eyes,” of having never sincerely and motherly loved Eyolf. This is too much for Rita. She repudiates the insinuations, demolishes

his exaggerated inferences: what is more, she directs with cruel malignity counter moves which pitilessly expose his assumed righteousness, his super-sensitive concern for the future of Eyolf. Not out of love for him was he taught, says Rita, but that Alfred might patch up the glaring insufficiency in his life, so pertly pointed out by his restless egoism. Neither Alfred nor Rita had ever possessed Eyolf in perfect love: he had been a stranger to them, willing to play the part of an evil genius in Rita's eyes, and all the time be his unhappy father's amenable cat's paw: they had crippled him for life thoughtlessly and no wonder Eyolf's death was something of a retribution visited upon them, twin sinners in the affair. So far they are agreed now, but the duel is not over yet. They are soon at it again screaming and tearing each other's veils of hypocrisy and self-deception and recoiling each time at the revelation of ever more disgusting layers of reality in their inborn selves: but mercilessly they pursue the deceiving self of their future happiness only to stand aghast at the bland discovery that it is never more theirs to be. Alfred tells his wife pointblank: "Our love has been like a consuming fire. Now it must be quenched." Rita is frantically moved and ejaculates: "I don't care a bit for my resurrection about which you talk so much. I am a warm-blooded being and don't go drowsing about—with fishes' blood in my veins!" Her ideal of conjugal love and felicity has cracked: she is annihilated: she has lived in vain!

Soon after the curtain rises over the third and last act, we find Rita and Allmers being left absolutely alone. Individually they had begged Asta to remain with them and smooth down the unutterable horror of their loneliness. But she chooses not to comply with their request and had resignedly boarded the steamer with Borgheim. The scene for yet another duel is set. "Life is pitiless," says Alfred: "Men are heartless," comes the reply, "they take no thought—either for the living or the dead!" They admit to each other how cruelly

they have "gone and squandered the short time we had with Little Eyolf." Rita in this scene is a tamed creature, almost chastened and sublime: Allmers, on the contrary, is the same man he ever has been. Rita is now obsessed with the one thought, the great open eyes of Little Eyolf deep down at the bottom of the sea. She hears clearly the plaintive anthem from the great Beyond ceaselessly repeating the words: "The crutch is floating: the crutch is floating." As in *Lady Macbeth* an extraordinary metamorphosis has taken place in Rita's mind. She is all woman now, tender, reminiscently and pityingly pathetic, and gnawed in every fibre of her being by the venomous teeth of remorse. Yet, as I said, Alfred is the same Alfred still!

The mists are about to clear now: azure heavens are very soon to be radiant with the serenity of inward calm. Rita is aware now of a change in her outlook, she is already feeling its concomittant anguish. A change will be for the best: for it is "a sort of rebirth." It is more or less a resurrection, "a transition to a higher life." Rita knows what to do: as soon as Alfred leaves her to herself and goes his way, never to return, she "will go down to the beach and bring all the poor neglected children home" with her and they shall all be with her, all of them, as if they were all Rita's own children. "They shall live in Eyolf's rooms, read his books, play with his toys, and shall take in turns to sit in his chair at table." She will try her best to see that they lead a better life than before: she will try to ennoble their lot in life, spare neither labour nor "her gold and green forests" towards this end! And why would she do these things, asks Allmers. She answers: partly that she may discharge her 'Human responsibility,' according to her lights, and partly that she may make her lasting peace with the great, glaring eyes of poor dear Eyolf. Even Allmers is impressed: he asks her, almost in a whisper, "perhaps I could join you in this your lofty endeavour? And to the best of my abilities, help you?" Rita brightens up: "Would you really?"

He would, of course! He goes to the flagstaff and hoists the banner of peace to the top. Their bitterness is already a phantom of the past. They stand on the stage, a transfigured pair, conscious of a heavy day's work before them and sure too of "a sabbath of genuine peace visiting them now and then." Meanwhile they are to labour hard and think only of the many forsaken Eyolfs at the sea shore and try their bit towards their amelioration. And purified in their thoughts, they may take courage to lift their eyes above "upwards towards the summits and the star-spangled sky: and towards the illimitable Silence" and catch, as they may, a fleeting vision of our Little Eyolf, of their Asta also, the other Eyolf of their lives.

The conclusion is fittingly sublime: I cannot account for it, but the impression left on my mind after reading this play kindled fond memory and took it to the equally serene and tragic conclusion of '*Oedipus at Colonus*.' '*Little Eyolf*' is a play which defies description. It refuses to enter into a formula. It is a play that deals with the various manifestations of egoism, each one of the characters typifying one particular aspect of the same. With but six characters in all Ibsen has here constructed an edifice of drama, sensationally unique in cast and substance. Ibsen never wrote anything finer, nor one more superb: it must be ranked with his very best work.

II

December 15, 1896, saw the appearance of Ibsen's next play, '*John Gabriel Borkman*.' In some respects it is a recapitulation of and refinement upon his earlier play '*Pillars of Society*.' They have both as pivot of their action the crime committed by an ambitious business man. In them both the chief character the business man, comes under the sway of a pair of sisters, one of whom he passionately loves but would not marry, while the other is to him only a rich woman whom he ought to marry and in fact does marry to further his business projects. How-

ever, there is a striking difference as well : the later play is all poetry and full of the ironic tragedy of our human vain idealisms whereas '*Pillars of Society*' is a competent realistic Prose Play and nothing more. The brilliance and cleverness of '*Pillars of Society*' are here naturalised, to the inevitability of art. The rush and roar of its movement have been chastened into the silent ruthlessness of the working of Destiny. '*Pillars of Society*' gives a slap on your face and dazzles you with its concentrated brilliance : '*John Gabriel Borkman*' overawes you and possesses you. In '*Pillars of Society*' the dramatist was just discovering himself, as it were, with half-opened eyes : in '*John Gabriel Borkman*' the dramatist subtly managed to infuse the true apotheosis of Ibsenism.

John Gabriel Borkman begins serious life with an insatiable appetite for money. He desires to have at his absolute disposal all the sources of power in Norway. All wealth, whatever its manifestation, wherever its resting place, must be solely his. The mines, the quarries, the water-falls, the trade routes, the steam-ship lines, the many factories scattered all over : John Gabriel must direct them from his study with his consummate ability and tact. He alone could do it. He alone could organise on a nation-wide scale the hewing out of the precious metal from the knotty rocks : he alone could create millions of current coins out of the precious metals taken out of the bowels of the earth : he alone could see that vast companies are floated, aiming at the well-being of the community. John Gabriel is not one of those stupid men who have doubts about their own abilities. He knows to a certainty what all he can do. He is conscious that in him is imbedded the soul of finance. His plans are ready. All he now requires is a Directorship in the new Bank at Christiania. Once the Director of the bank, Borkman could easily become its Managing Director—and then, what illimitable vistas opened up before him ? The Directorship is what Borkman's immediate objective ought to be.

Borkman looks about himself. The figure of Hinkel looms large before him. Hinkel alone could get the Directorship for John Gabriel and Hinkel is madly in love with Miss Ella Rentheim. Unfortunately, Borkman himself is in love with Ella and is blessed in the fact that she also reciprocates this love with more than equal intensity. But Gunhild, Ella's elder sister, loves him too and would do anything to win his love. The Misses Rentheim fight a life-and-death struggle for one man's soul. For a time the younger Rentheim has it all her own way. Borkman and Ella Rentheim spend evening after evening discussing plans and musing on how best to awaken the "sleeping spirits of the mine." Yet hidden deep beneath the surface of Borkman's passion for Ella is his uncontrollable love of power—"the power to create human happiness in wide, wide circles around" him! And power would be his if only that one man Hinkel would help him: he alone could and would secure the Directorship, if Borkman on his side renounced Ella. There is no other alternative: John Gabriel decides to make his sacrifice; he gives Ella up and marries Gunhild.

John Gabriel Borkman is now the Managing Director of the Christiania Bank. He mounts higher and higher in popularity: he is speedily led upwards towards the "beckoning heights." He drives about "with a four-in-hand as if he were a king." People call him all Norway over by his Christian name. He is even offered a portfolio in the Cabinet but he declines the honour. In the meantime Borkman is vivaciously working at the attainment of his ideal. He is about to bring to an inspiring success a great stroke of financial speculation. He grasps at the millions deposited till then in the bank and makes use of them in forging wider and wider circles of human happiness about him, in fulfilling the preliminary part of his destiny as a Napoleon of finance. Hinkel is privy to all these daring manipulations: but he says nothing for he hopes still to win the heart of Ella Rentheim. Ella, on the other hand, her love-life falsely bartered away and murdered by her fond lover,

would not be moved but retires to her place to lead the dull life of a cloistered lady. Little by little Hinkel loses all hope : disappointment and despair cloud his imagination with false notions. He fiendishly clutches at the thought that Borkman is after all at the rock-bottom of these refusals. He decides to take his terrible revenge. He makes his calculations with remorseless accuracy. He determines to hurl Borkman into the abyss just when he should feel secure seated on the pinnacle of prosperity and should be counting his questionable gains on the very verge of success. He waits for the psychological moment.

He has not long to wait. A week more and Borkman would reach his goal. There would not be an iota of actual evidence of his having dealt with the securities in any criminal manner. The deposits could all have been easily covered. No, now would Hinkel act. He has Borkman's "frank and confiding letters : " he knows every one of the daring speculator's movements : he publishes the letters, reveals the secrets, turns informer. Borkman is arrested for embezzlement : he is crushed, annihilated almost. He feels like " a Napoleon maimed in his first battle." He is sentenced to undergo imprisonment for five years.

Mrs. Gunhild Borkman is rudely shaken by the revelation. She is penniless, homeless, friendless : but her sister comes to her rescue. When Borkman utilised the securities in his possession, while engaged in bringing off his master stroke of finance, he was feeling as might " a man who may have to start on a balloon-voyage." Not that he wasn't certain of victory : only he had been a little giddy, vaguely surmising encounters in perilous seas and faery lands and deciding not to risk what he held his dearest treasure. And this treasure had ever been to Borkman Miss Ella Rentheim and her securities : accordingly he had left them untouched. Thus when the sensation of embezzlement was at its height and the curses of many ruined men were ringing in a tragic chorus, Miss Ella

Rentheim alone found that not a farthing of her money had been touched, that her securities were quite safely deposited in the Bank. At any rate this enabled her to buy Borkman's house at the auction and keep up an establishment there for Mrs. Borkman. As for Erhart, Borkman's little son, Ella took him away with her to her country house and lavished upon him all the tenderness of love which once she had been ready to surrender to his father.

Five years pass. John Gabriel Borkman is set free and returns to his house. He does not exchange a single word with his wife. There is no love lost between them. Borkman goes upstairs and decides to remain up there in the long gallery as long as it be necessary. He paces up and down, day in day out, revolving old memories, trying and retrying his own case, and always ending by acquitting himself. He is his own accuser, his own defendant, his own judge, his own jury. He turns every one of his thoughts and actions "upside down and inside out." Ruthlessly, pitilessly, untiringly he weighs, discerns and decides. He exculpates himself.

He cares not a rap for his wife: she is to him only "a certain person down below." Mrs. Borkman of course hates and loathes her husband: it is "the sick wolf" pacing up there interminably and with a ghastly monotony. John Gabriel does not think his life wasted as yet: he clings passionately to the hope that soon would his hour of restoration strike. He is thoroughly convinced of it and is in fact keeping himself ready for it. He could see how the thing will happen to a nicety. He knows that the people who have found the new bank cannot go on at all without the help of John Gabriel Borkman. They are bound to see that they simply cannot get on without his leadership and would soon be compelled to "crawl to my feet and beseech me to take the reins of the bank again—." He knows how he would then receive those people: how he would stand erect, immovable, benign: standing bolt upright

beside his writing table, his left hand nonchalantly resting upon it and his right hand thrust menacingly and commandingly in the breast pocket: what severe conditions he would impose upon them, how he would carry through his will to a finish! For eight years this tragicomedy is enacted with unalterable regularity and swing. Once in a few months indeed would John Gabriel find his mere hopes insufficient for his satisfaction and would even, late in the evening, come down to the hall as if to go out and take a walk or recklessly join the fray: but his hat and his great cloak would miraculously still remain unused and they would mesmerise him to go back to the gallery again.

All these eight years Borkman sees little of his son Erhart; his wife takes care to see that it is so. But one of the victims of the embezzlement, a poor clerk named Foldal, who had at all times admired Borkman's genius for finance, is now almost a daily visitor to the long gallery and practically the only friend of the 'sick-wolf' above. Foldal in his early days had written a tragedy which brought him neither fame nor money: his wife and children openly spoke disparagingly of his pretensions to poetry. But Borkman pretended to like the tragedy very much: he tells Foldal pointedly, "your tragedy is good. I am firmly convinced of that." In his turn Foldal also has time after time told Borkman that he too had a childish faith in the early onset of the financier's rehabilitation. One flatters the other and fans the incandescent embers to flame up again into rosiest hopes. They two hug to their breasts their illusions and magnify them into Huge Realities. Foldal's impecuniosity and wretchedness no less than Borkman's living-death state is alike forgotten. Only the falsity of their insubstantial hope remains.

With Gunhild the ideal that even now makes life worth living is woven after another pattern. She pins her hopes on the future of Erhart. She has taken him from her aunt's house and has instilled into his mind many funny and

repugnant notions. Erhart loves Ella with real poignancy: he is alive to the fact that it is Ella's love that enables all of them to live decently. If Ella does not see his mother at all that is because she wants to spare her sister. But his happy thoughts are cumbrously dislocated by his mother's perverse hatred of Ella. She takes care to remind in season and out of season that they were living upon Ella's generosity: that she never comes to see them out of sheer contempt: that the prime vocation of Erhart must be to work laboriously at the rehabilitation of the honoured name of Borkman: that he must so raise himself up in the estimation of men and ascend so high in the ladder of material prosperity that he may be able to repay fully his father's creditors and thereby offer his dear mother an apology for emerging out of her obscurity and breathing the fresh air of the outside world. How Erhart could do these things Gunhild has not the slightest idea of: he *must* do it, that's all she knows and needs to know. Hoping against hope that she could redeem herself at Erhart's expense—that Erhart would be brave and strong enough for the sacrifice demanded of him—poor Mrs. Borkman childishly cherishes this dream. And during those intolerable eight years—and the agonising period that preceded them—she has only this 'illusion' to hold fast to her life and let it be.

Then all of a sudden the chief characters make an unexpected bid for an immediate resuscitation of lost splendours. This, as I have explained at length in my earlier paragraphs, is the fourth stage in the progress of the action of an Ibsen Play in the last phase. And here—as in '*The Master Builder*'—the play begins. Ella Rentheim almost ominously, makes a call upon her sister Gunhild, the sister whom she has never talked with these eight years. From the outset they face each other with cold hostility. To Ella the life the Borkmans have been leading seems incredible. More incredible and dangerous appears to her her sister's illusion

of her Erhart's making "so brilliant a position for himself that not a single trace is left of the shadow his father had cast upon her." But, most of all, Ella is alarmed to hear that Erhart has made the friendship of one Mrs. Wilton who, Mrs. Borkman thinks, more or less makes an idol of young Erhart. Ella is violently perturbed. She scents something threatening her dear boy. She expatiates upon her own claim over Erhart, upon her longing to win his love, his heart, his very soul. In the meantime Erhart puts in his appearance and cordially welcomes his aunt. He is in a hurry to be present at a party: Mrs. Wilton is waiting for him. His mother utters solemn expostulations: he only answers, "There are bright lights there and young, fresh faces: and there's music and merriment there, too, mother!" He asks his aunt to remain in the town itself and take better care of her health. He requests his mother to spare him those silly phrases about redeeming lost honour and curtly tells her that he never was born to be any sort of missionary. And without waiting for her reply he hastily goes away.

Mrs. Borkman understands how matters are: that ungrateful boy Erhart no more loves his mother; her power over him is extinguished. Either Ella or Mrs. Wilton has claimed his affection. Instinctively the same uncharitable thought crosses their minds: rather than a sister have Erhart's love, let Mrs. Wilton claim it whole. Ella Rentheim ironically exclaims: "For the first time in our lives we are of an identical mind." Mrs. Borkman, left alone, cries pathetically: "Oh Erhart, don't forsake me, be true to me always: be a pillar of strength to your mother: for alone this life is quite unbearable."

During the time the above encounter was proceeding John Gabriel was listening to Miss Foldal who is playing on a piano 'The Dance Macabre!' The poet that he is, he naturally compares Miss Foldal's music to the clanging of the metal down in the mines. "The metal sings once it is loosened. The hammer-strokes that loosen it are the midnight bell chiming and

ringing to liberate it: and hence the metal sings in its own great tones—for joy. The metal yearns to come up to us men and serve us and the thought of the immediacy of liberation is enough to make it sing.” Miss Foldal does not understand these things and soon goes out. A few minutes pass and Foldal duly comes in with his inborn timidity. He speaks of Borkman’s hour of restoration not as a distant possibility but as something inevitable: the other says a word or two in praise of the tragedy. Unfortunately however the conversation takes an extraneous turn and Borkman flashes forth the biting statement: “You are no poet. All along we have been wasting each other’s time. Please don’t come here again.” Borkman has also been told to his very face that the tide may not turn in his favour for many a day. The Mutual Admiration Society is automatically dissolved.

Borkman is left alone for a minute or two. A knock is heard and Ella enters the gallery, a lighted candle in her hand. They are constrained to speak of the past. Borkman justifies his deflection from Ella by saying that he gave her up for higher motives. Ella however accuses him of having killed the love-life in her and in him also: of having murdered her soul no less than his. What he held the dearest possession in the world he was ready to exchange for a directorship. This was the double murder he was guilty of. Ella did not care a bit whether he was guilty of embezzlement or not: that mattered little: as Mrs. Borkman she would have had the strength and the courage to bear the obloquy and shame and disaster with him and with scarce a murmur! But to have butchered to death all the love-life, the inexpressible gladness of a union—that was a crime for which there could be no forgiveness! To have cheated her of every vestige of happiness as lover, as wife, as mother,—to have robbed her of a lover’s sighs and a mother’s tears, to have ravished her jest and youthful jollity and have created in their stead a dreary desert: for these one could never, never forgive

Borkman. But all that were an old story. Ella has been told by the doctors that she has not six months more to live. Would it be too much to ask Borkman to give her permission to keep dear Erhart with her just as long as life may still be given her? Would it be too much to ask him to allow her to leave all her earthly possessions to Erhart and let him bear the name of Rentheim,—that Ella may not be forgotten? Borkman agrees to both proposals. Erhart in any case is not his; the person down below has seen to that. As for Erhart's bearing anybody's name except his, Borkman's comment is characteristic of him: "I am man enough to bear my name alone!" Ella is profuse with her thanks: she is glad that there has been a full settlement between them. However, suddenly the door is flung wide open and Gunhild burst upon them saying: "Never shall Erhart be called by that name!" Again, in the same uncompromising tone: "Erhart shall bear his father's name alone and bear it honourably aloft! And I alone will be his mother! No other shall capture his heart!" She is gone the next instant. Ella's first thoughts now are for the future happiness of Erhart. "The boy's life will be wrecked in this furious storm!" So saying she tells Borkman that he must come to an understanding with his wife. They go down to Mrs. Borkman's drawing room.

John Gabriel Borkman will give an account of himself to his wife. Did he do anything criminal? Well, the world had been talking much about it: but little it knew why he had acted like that. Why, then, did he bring his family to utter ruin by scheming and speculating? This is his answer: "I felt the irresistible call within me. The millions lay imprisoned all over the land, deep down in the bowels of the earth, shrieking for freedom, calling aloud to me to unchain them or hew them out of rocks. None else heard the cry: for me was it intended and I alone heard it." Borkman has no pangs of remorse at all so far as the so-called embezzlement went. But

his real crime lay elsewhere. The very day he was set free he ought to have begun life again and not have dreamed and sulked and wasted himself up there in the dingy gallery. Even now it may not be too late. He must begin even at that late hour.

Mrs. Borkman is not deceived by these words. "You are dead already," she says in effect. Don't dream of life any more. Sleep the sleep of the dead where you are. Your son will wipe out the shame you have besmirched your name with and all will be well with the name of John Gabriel Borkman.

Now this redeemer, young Erhart, where is he and what is he doing? He is at the Hinkels' presumably, attending a party: as a matter of fact, however, he is hotly engaged in making away with Mrs. Wilton to Italy to taste life in its abundance. Not for him the windy verbiages of his mother: not for him the missionary life of a redeemer of bloated reputations. He loves Mrs. Wilton and she loves him, and why not? Mrs. Wilton is rich, ever so gracious and charming, and Miss Frieda Foldal would be accompanying them. Thus when at the very moment of starting a maid tells him that his mother had most urgently summoned her he is not a little embarrassed. He promises to return immediately and follows the maid to the Borkman's house. His mother begs him to remain with her always; his aunt entreats him to be good enough to spend just a few months with his dying auntie; even his father peremptorily asks him if it would not be a fine thing to work hand in hand with his father and enable him to reascend the steps towards the summit of his ambition. Erhart is thoroughly courteous: but he cannot, he will not be with any of them. He is young, he is thrillingly conscious of his youth, the knowledge is disturbing him, is "tingling through every vein" in his body. Work he cannot: he must enjoy life, taste its pleasures and feast on its thrills: Mrs. Wilton promises them and with her he must be off to Italy. It is useless to try to change Erhart's mind. Ella graciously

gives way wishing him happiness and long life. But Mrs. Borkman would not allow him even to touch her. It is all over. Mrs. Wilton comes to and drags him away. Borkman is convulsed all over and as if on the eve of a new battle, takes his hat and cloak and starts to go out into "the storm of life." None can hold him back now. In vain Ella asks him to go back into the house. He retorts saying: "Never under ceiling again; were I inside the gallery now, roof and walls and all would shrink together and crush me flat as a fly." Borkman goes down into the open space and then towards the forests. Ella has no choice but to follow him. On and on they move together until they reach a bench where years and years ago they used to chat gaily. John Gabriel Borkman in all that he says hereafter is a poet. And he is mad. He imagines that he sees the smoke of steamship out on the fiord weaving a beautiful network of fellowships round about the wide world. The Titan in him speaks: he is the rare spirit that unbound Prometheus: he is the symbol of finance in its most poetic aspect, of finance that is one with bullion: he is the knight-errant dreaming by night and scheming by day with the one set purpose of releasing all the precious metals caged in the deep delved earth: he is an immanent spirit singing his epilogue. He cries: "I'll whisper my love to you here in the icy chilliness of the night: I love you, love you as you lie there in the deeps and the darkness! Unborn treasures as you are, I love you with all your splendour and glory and radiance! I love you, love you, love you!" A metal hand anon seems to clutch at his heart: he speaks, he totters, he falls upon the bench. Ella Rentheim scrutinises the prostrate form and knows that he is already dead. "It's best so for you," she says and turns to go away but she meets Mrs. Borkman who has come that way with the maid and has to be told the truth. Yes, an ice-cold metal hand had gripped John Gabriel by the heart and killed him and they two were left behind, twin sisters but no worthier than shadows. The coldness of heart had bred hatred

at every turn and killed one and made the others shadows. Mrs. Borkman says rather pertly : "And now I think we too may hold out our hands to each other, Ella, and put an end to our strife?" And with this tardy reconciliation the curtain falls.

In more respects than one the Borkmans are a contrast to the Tjaeldes in Bjornstjerne Bjornson's '*The Bankrupt*.' In the latter play also the theme is the crash in the business of Henning Tjaelde. But not only are Mrs. Tjaelde and his daughters a source of fruitful help and solace to the broken businessman but the actual hour of resurrection does indeed strike. In that play Bjornson makes an appeal for a high standard of truth and honesty in finance : otherwise it is just a realistic prose play. But '*John Gabriel Borkman*' is a far grander work. In it we are face to face with the very transparency of tragedy, of poetry, of humanity itself in solution. It was the last complete play that Ibsen wrote. For '*When We Dead Awaken*,' the very last work of Ibsen's, is appropriately enough called 'A Dramatic Epilogue.' It was just Ibsen's swan song.

III

Three years after the publication of '*John Gabriel Borkman*' was issued Ibsen's final work of drama, the dramatic epilogue above referred to. It is one of the shortest of his plays and its central meaning is almost incomprehensible. It is no doubt a very powerful play : retrospective narration reaches in it, its ultimate crystallization. Every word in it but has its own very significant part to perform in completing the framework of the story. However, I must confess that I did not understand at first what it was all about : the underlying objective seemed so fantastic, so much intangible. The final act seemed so unreal, so out of the way, so unnecessarily and so overpoweringly weird and tragic : the heroine's words, her gestures, her suppressed agitations seemed somewhat

alarming, almost even forced. But I had only to read the play again and again under the guidance of Bernard Shaw and I found what rare edifice of drama indeed '*When We Dead Awaken*' was. Perhaps it is not quite a play : it is an 'epilogue' only, as such Ibsen having cast it. One must not apply to it the canons of criticism with which other plays are judged. Here is a type of tragic drama which is like nothing else before written, in which the drama is perceptible only through recapitulation and reflection. Incidentally, it gives us one of the grandest of Ibsen's characters in the person of Professor Arnold Rubek. The play, far from doing harm to Ibsen's reputation as some believe it does, does actually add another to his brilliant succession of triumphs at the theatre. As it was, Ibsen could not have taken leave of the stage with a play more characteristic of his genius.

Professor Arnold Rubek is a slave of his one master passion. Solness was the master builder, Borkman was the soul of finance; in '*When We Dead Awaken*' Rubek's one vocation is art, his one ambition is to be master sculptor. He is sick, ever sick with the desire to chisel out the greatest work of his life. What shall be the diploma piece of his art ? He dreams : he thinks of it incessantly. He now knows what it must be : it must be the statue of a young woman awakening from the "sleep of death" : and it shall be called 'The Resurrection Day.'

Professor Rubek is happy in his model. He comes across with Irene, the very jewel of innocence and in every respect all that he had required of his model. Irene consents to renounce the trappings of home and kindred and discovers in this new enterprise a jubilant resurrection of her early childhood. Adorably, entrancingly beautiful as Irene is, the Professor would not wish her his with his senses : young and full of vitality, he yet successfully smothers his carnal appetites. To touch Irene, to think of her as anything nearer his passions than the supreme model of his work of art, were to profane his soul and defeat the artist in himself.

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Professor Rubek can now fashion the pure woman of his imagination awakening on the Resurrection Day: it is in Irene's image that it shall be: not expressive of mute wonder and of strange surprise but radiating in every direction the still, confident gleam of knowledge and of exultation, that even the pathos of the flesh hasn't altered her inward peace, that even the contact of the earth hasn't dimmed the true sacredness of her being. Irene's thoughts seem to lie somewhere else. From the moment of meeting Rubek she comes under the sway of his personality. Neither art nor the artist in Rubek affects her in the least. But the instant she unclothes herself and gives him all her naked loveliness "to gaze upon...and to glorify," her love turns to bitter hatred of the man, so complete slave of his art, who could stand before her inconceivably and intolerably self-controlled and could think only in terms of the statue that is duly to rise. She realises in a moment that she has thrown away on him something quite indispensable to her: she realises that she has lost for ever her living soul. Soulless, no living existence is hers hereafter. What still remain are but the intrepid movements of her shadow.

For near four years she poses as the model. She is dead, of course, but the shadow lingers on to see that the statue, her child, rises in its full height and sees the Resurrection Day. The wet clay enlarges and rises and grows into a vital human being. Perhaps, Irene is not quite dead yet: once the statue is finished she thinks, perhaps, Arnold Rubek would desire marriage with her. These vague hopes are shattered when Arnold finds that the statue of clay is finished, that he has no more use for her: he takes both her hands, presses them warmly and gratefully and names this vast spiritual experience a mere "episode." The cold conventionality invoked by this word is for Irene the last straw. She is wounded beyond repair, she is quite dead now: she leaves him abruptly and effaces herself "for ever."

Once Irene is gone, Professor Rubek thinks that her only figure—howbeit wonderful and howbeit the light on her face

transfiguring it to heavenly lustre—on the base cannot absolutely and in its entirety represent the Resurrection Day. Himself must be an integral constituent of the statue. Accordingly, he places himself at the centre, beside a fountain and moves the figure of Irene a little back. To his bitter chagrin, the latter more than outshines his figure and he must now tone down the expression on her face. He is dissatisfied yet: his figure moodily crouches near Irene's feet somewhat like a man weighed down with the agony of remorse, one "who cannot deliver himself from the earth crust." Even so "The Resurrection Day" is not complete. To make it far more suggestive Arnold now expands the plinth and up from it he projects impossible men and women "with faces betraying dim animal looks." He is satisfied at last. Into this final mould of marble is his statue cast. It is installed in a public museum. It is universally admired and the world knows Arnold Rubek for the master sculptor.

In the meantime Arnold had married. Maia is no second Irene. She has no idea of the "inner workings of her own nature"—not to speak of those of an "artist's nature." From her Rubek gets no response to his artistic impulses. After "The Resurrection Day" he has been unable to create any more works of art. The key to the Bramah-locked casket in his heart wherein are stored up all the manifold visions of the artist—had been in Irene's keeping and when she dropped out of his life the key to his happiness was lost too. Maia was woman enough and good enough for being Frau Rubek but the sculptor in him had perforce to be strangled. These three years, after imparting the final touch to "The Resurrection Day," Arnold had done nothing but portrait busts of ladies and gentlemen who could afford to pay extravagantly for these and who have been stupid enough not to notice the animal's faces individualised behind the apparently well reproduced countenances. Egoistic, selfish, desperate, Arnold strays from the path of true art and marches along the deceiving avenues of hate and envy. The busts he does now are

excellent on the surface : " but at bottom they are all respectable, pompous horse-faces, and self-opinionated donkey-muzzles, and lop-eared, low-browed dog-skulls, and fatted pig-snouts—and oft even forbidding bull-fronts as well ! " ' ' The Professor's meaning in so doing is to emphasise the fact that even as men have be-devilled animals—dear, domestic animals—in Man's image, just so also have the animals bedevilled men in their turn. Be that as it may, the Professor's coffers are full. He lives in luxury and in indolent splendour. He builds himself the fine villa on the Lake of Taunitz and the spacious palazzo in the capital. But he is restless. The applause of the world wearies him and Maia's shallowness drives him mad. They two wander about from place to place. But real rest is not theirs. Especially, Arnold is impervious to the assault of pleasures, he develops a severe melancholy, he grows utterly misanthropic. The period of his daily companionship with Maia seems to him wasted : a continuation of the same appears to him well nigh intolerable. The vainglorious talk about the artist's mission in life seems insipid and meaningless. Life in its native richness and beauty wears hues far more alluring than the artist's vocation that is but another word for a " perpetual tussle with raw masses of clay, of marble and of stone." One of his bored and distracted trips takes Professor and Frau Rubek to a bathing establishment on the coast where they meet a curious set of persons. At this stage the play begins.

In his illuminating study of this play Mr. Bernard Shaw calls Rubek the modern man of so-called culture and Maia the Stone Age woman with primitive instincts and appetites. There could be no real harmony between them. Luckily their perplexities are solved in a most unexpected manner in the bathing establishment. Here Professor Rubek meets Irene and the fire of the artist in him is kindled again : Maia grasps at her satisfaction also—as typified in the hunter Ulfheim. They group themselves after their hearts, the Stone Age man with the Stone Age lady, the cultured artist with the refined Irene. Ulfheim

in shooting costume, with guns and dogs and slain bears, strikes a sympathetic chord in her being. She is thrilled and fascinated by the things he does and by the stories he tells her. She tells her husband that she must follow Ulfheim up there to the mountains and be part of the pulsing life that could be lived there. Rubek, glad to be rid of her anyhow, has no prudent objections to offer : Frau Rubek may do as she likes.

Arnold is alone with the Stranger Lady. What things had happened to her these five years—the years that had sent a warmblooded human being to the madhouse? Where had Irene hid herself when “their child”—“The Resurrection Day”—stood transfigured in the light of glory untrammelled? A pause. Must Irene answer these questions? Well, here. Penniless and friendless when she left Arnold, she had to pose unblushingly on the turntable in variety-shows : she had stood naked in living pictures, had sunk to the depths of vice and made money in heaps : she had “turned the heads of all kinds of men” and driven them mad in turn : she had married a distinguished diplomatist and had managed, quite properly, to drive him irretrievably and inexorably mad, so mad indeed that he shot himself and enabled Irene to marry a second time, this time a Russian by name Von Satow, whom she had simply killed with the dagger she always carried with her : as for her children, of course, she had murdered them as soon as they came to the world : people or the police had bound her and led her to the vault of death and had imprisoned her in a madhouse : she was just then understanding herself and, pitying her perhaps, she had been allowed to travel but always under the strict supervision of the Sister of Mercy Arnold had seen about the place. That is all the story. Arnold is almost struck dumb, he sighs, he falters, he defends himself. No, it is no use his defending himself : he had light-heartedly and selfishly taken to himself a full-blooded young woman and “worn the soul out of it” and as carelessly and selfishly forgotten all about the “priceless episode.” But for her life

had become death and only her divine solicitude for "their child" had kept her with him till the work was finished. After all, why rake up the bitter past? Could she not be allowed a sight of "their child"? just once?

Arnold is alarmed. "It was not what it was afterwards to become"; and little by little he retails the story of the transformation of the statue. Irene is in a rage: she draws her knife from behind him as if she would kill him there and then. But she is spared her trouble: is not the man already dead? Not to have seen that her whole soul as well as his was in that one figure in that statue and have thought to tone down the expression of gladness,—was it not madness, the essential prelude to his death which had soon followed? In destroying "their child," he had destroyed himself also. The shadow of Irene is merely bandying words with that other shadow, the husk of Arnold's self. There could be no more death for her or for him.

Professor Rubek asks, softly and urgently, "Does ever repentance come too late? She evades the question for the time. He asks further: "Should you not consent to come and live with us in the villa by the Lake of Taunitz? The Brahmah-casket that has long lain locked up could be opened by you, by you only! You have the key, you alone! Oh help me that I may yet be able to begin life again!" Irene knows better: in her self-murder of her love-life had synchronised the self-murder of Arnold himself: their double sins they could never expiate: Arnold's thoughts are empty dreams: for the life they two had led during the three years of busy, creative work—work on "The Resurrection Day," their child—there is no resurrection. Their dead souls had awakened for a moment from their deep dream of death—to recognise each other and so die for ever.

Ulfheim and Maia pass before them and Maia waves farewell to the Professor. She is going on her adventures: she approaches her husband and confidently tells him: "I am going to let life take the place of all else...for I am sure I have

wakened now—at last! ” They are gone and once again Irene and Rubek are by themselves. The Professor suggests: “A summer night on the heights! Sure, that would be life!” Irene starts up with illumination and triumph: “Will you spend a night up—and with me?” This time it cannot be a mere episode: it must be a closer union between Irene and her adorable lord and master. Irene reminds him darkly: “We see the irretrievable only when we dead awaken...And then we see alas, we dead have never lived!” They part for the time being promising to meet later in the upland.

The first part of the third act is taken up with describing Maia’s experiences with Ulfheim. Ulfheim sends away his servant and approaches Maia with questionable intentions. She doesn’t recoil with horror: but she vehemently protests and with the native courage of the Stone Age people stands up against him. A storm is gathering up and it is about to dawn. She wants Ulfheim to show the way down, to the bathing house. He laughs, asks her to get upon his back, or rather to allow him to carry her downwards in his arms. He even proposes that they ought to “tack their poor shreds of life together” and stand united thereafter, liberated and serene! She is not sure whether that is not after all the best thing to do. She looks down the precipice and to her surprise sees the other pair coming up. They all meet on level ground. Ulfheim warns the new couple: “You go higher up and you come to a tight place where you can neither go forward nor back. And then you stick fast, Professor!” It is too true. The heavy blasts of wind and mountainous masses of clouds rolling and dashing against the peaks indicate a severe storm. Maia is in a hurry to get down. Ulfheim takes her in his arms and clambers down the precipice taking deliberate, quick strides. But Irene would not go back to the hotel even if Rubek should be willing to shield her all through life. The love-life that people experience on earth—the beautiful and inscrutable earth-life—and dream of day and night and of which they build castles in imagination

and to which they consecrate their life-energies and the passionless insight of their souls—that love-life is dead in both of them. Professor Rubek may delude himself with the thought that this very love burns and seethes in him as furiously hot as ever before : he may even protest, quite honestly, that whatever had passed between their first meeting and now, hasn't lowered Irene by one poor scruple in his estimation, in his unbounded love : he may see around him everywhere the throb and hum of life in profusion : Irene knows, alas ! that the woman of his Resurrection Day sees—if at all—the life of his dreams but pathetically scattered in fragments on their child's bier ! Arnold could be held back no more : he throws his arms around her passionately and cries, with wildness and despair in his tone : " Then let us at least for once live life to its uttermost--before this momentary awakening from death be withdrawn again ! " Irene shrieks hoarsely, she understands his meaning. They will hold their marriage feast up there in the everlasting heights, in the utmost Peak of Promise : and even the Sun may freely, wonderingly look upon them. The grace-given wife will gladly follow her great lord and master. But first they must pass through the gathering clouds and find their way to the top—there to consummate their union ! Hand in hand they climb up the craggy mountain precipices : they are lost among the snows and the clouds and the mists : they are seen once more but for just the fraction of a second,—they are whirled along with the rolling masses of snow and buried in a descending avalanche. The Sister of Mercy comes too late to be able to save Irene : she makes the sign of the cross and says, imperturbably grave, " Pax vobiscum ! " And—we have come to the end of the plays of Henrik Ibsen.

(*To be continued.*)

KINGSHIP IN BENGAL, BEHAR AND ORISSA IN ANCIENT TIMES.

II

Whatever the state of political society 5000 or 8000 years ago during the time of the Vedas and Upanishads, it ought to be remembered, the historical truth, that political society does not (and did not) remain stationary. In India it was also affected by the advent of other people from the North-west, *e.g.*, of the Gops of Central Asia, the Persians, the Greeks, the Moghuls, and the Afghans; Northern Bengal had inroads from Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet; and East Bengal at a much later date from the Maghs, the Dutch, and from their local progenies from about Chittagong. Besides, after the great Kurukshetra War many warriors came up to Gangáságar, some to Lángal Bandha on the Brahmaputra River in quest of fortune, and founded small kingdoms here and there, *e.g.*, Karna, Babrubahan, and others. (See also the article at p. 332 *infra*.)

Behar had inroads from the Rajputs or Pratihars and others of Western India, and southern Bengal from the Choles of the country south of Urissa. There are some records in inscriptions of those invasions. The ultimate result was anarchy. Even before these invasions there were independent kings in Bengal. This is apparent from the Rámáyána, Ajodhyá Kánda, Chapter X, wherein it is stated that the kings of Anga, Banga, Kási, &c., were subordinate to King Dasharatha. In the Mahábhárata (Savá Parbba, Ch. XXX) it is stated that the king of Banga (*i.e.*, the locality about the Faridpur Disirict) with an army sided with the Kurus. In later days Lakshman Sen, King of Banga, and others, combined to oppose the Mahomedan invasion (Vabishya Purána, Bomb. ed., Ch. XXXII, p. 326, V, 51-56). They are mentioned as kings or monarchs.

In the pillar inscription of Samudragupta (in the 4th century A.D.) names of 24 contemporary kings are mentioned, as

Rájás of Dakkhinápath (southern countries). Besides, names are mentioned of some Forest Kings. *Rájás* of the following places are also mentioned :—*Samatata* (East of the River *Vágirathi*), *Kámrupa*, *Nepála*, *Karttripura*, *Málava* (*Málád Desh* in Bengal?), *Arjunáyana*, *Yaudheya* (*Ajodhya* in Midnapur?), *Madraka*, *A'vera*, *Prárjuna*, *Sanakánika*, *Káka*, *Kharaparik*, &c.

Thus in the time of *Samudragupta* alone, there were so many kings and kingdoms. Defeating all of them *Samudragupta* assumed the title of *Mahárájádhirája*. This title was not easy to assume, and it was then not, as it is now, a mere decoration. His two ancestors were "*Mahárájá*". There is no mention of any republic or of any administration other than monarchical.

It appears from Allan's Catalogue of the Gupta Dynasty that from 275 to 560 A.D. 11 monarchs reigned in Magadha and West Bengal.

From Fleet's *Corpus Inscript. Indic.*, Vol. III, p. 8, it appears that 11 other Gupta kings reigned in Magadh from 475 to 725 A.D. Magadh had its capital near the present Patna town.

All these monarchs were independent kings. Almost all of them ascended the throne by right of inheritance. None of them was elected by the people.

Then came the *Pála* Kings of Magadh and of West Bengal, beginning with *Gopála* and ending with *Madana Pála* in Bengal and Magadh (Behar) from the 8th to the beginning of the 12th century; thereafter their descendants continued to sway as kings for some time in Magadh; the last was *Indradyumna Pála* who being driven away from Magadh by the Muslims in 1197 A.D. fled to Orissa, and conquering that country removed the capital from Nilgiri to *Sriksettra*.¹

¹ *Skanda Purana*—*Bishnoo Khanda*, Ch. 7. That king was *Vaiya*—Do. Ch. XI. See also *J. B. & O. R. S.* 1919, Vol. V, p. 295, art. by J. N. Samáddár, B.A.; and *J.A. S.* Vol. III, p. 131. *Martin's Eastern India*, Vol. II; *Hunter's Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 103; and *Biswakosha*.

These Pála Kings ascended the throne by right of inheritance, except the first, named Gopála.

According to the copper-plate inscription of Dharmapála his father Gopála was born in a royal family of great fame; as there was anarchy in Bengal and Magadh, he was invited by some of the nobles; and when he consented he was accepted king. Even according to this authority he was not elected by the people as is supposed by some writers based on the meaning of the word *Prakritivih* in the text. The context does not indicate that the word though used twice at the same place is used in two different senses (nobles and people). It must mean nobles at both the places.

The language of the inscription is as follows:

“Sriya iba subhagáyáh sambhabo
 Báriráshish-shashadhara iba bhúso bishwamálhádayantyáh;
 Prakriti-rabanipúnáng santate röttamáyá
 ajani Dayita-Bishnooh sarbbabidya-badátah.
 *** Sri Bappata-statah, Mátsyanyáyam-apahitoong *prakritivih*
 Lakshyah karang grihitah Sri Gopála iti Kshiteesh-shirasháng
 churhámóni-stat-sutah.”

A translator has taken the first “prakriti” to mean *nobles*, and the second to mean *people*. But it is a common rule of interpretation that in the same sentence or para., unless the context expressly indicates otherwise, the same word is to be taken to mean the same thing. In the passage quoted, there is no word to indicate expressly, that the same word is used in different senses.

In this copper-plate it is stated that the founder of the dynasty was of an illustrious royal family, and he was *versed in all learning*, and was named Dayita-Bishnoo. The illustrious Bappata was born in that family and he was a powerful and illustrious sovereign. During the time of anarchy his son Gopála was invited by the nobles to accept the hand of Lakshmi and he did so,

(Note :—According to Parashara I—58, noted at p. 73 of Jati-Tattwa-Kalpa-Druma, a Kshattriya gains the hand of Lakshmi by a sword. So Gopála possibly conquered the country by his sword, with the help of the nobles and gained Lakshmi's hand, as in the plate. Hence it is very likely that Gopála gained the hand of Lakshmi, *i.e.*, the kingdom, by the sword with the help or connivance of the nobles. It is not however stated in the copper-plate of which place Bappata was king, or where his royal family resided.)

The text means the nobles invited Gopála of Suryya Bansha and descendant of the learned, brave and illustrious Bappata to accept the hand of Lakshmi, *i.e.*, take possession of the kingdom.

In Sandikar Nandi's Rámcharit (Biography of king Rám Pála, written in the 12th century A.D.), it is stated that Gopála was born in the royal Samudra Kul (family or house). One synonym for *Samudra* is sun, and kul is a synonym for *Bansha* (stock or family—*vide* Amarakosha). So Samudra-kul may be poetic expression for Solar race (Suryya Bansha—either Kshattriya or Vaisya, and it does not mean offspring of the ocean which suggests offspring of *Deba-Dáshis* or dancing girls in temples, or something like that, as in early Greecian mythology).

The relics of Samudra Garh on the west bank of the river Bhágirathi near Navadwip (or Nadia) and close to the railway station Samudra-Garh are very suggestive. The mounds covered with jungles there represent the ruins. There a Suryya-Bansha sovereign might have resided. Sandikar Nandi was a Bengalee and contemporary of Rájá Rám Pála; so he might have heard the legend when yet fresh in the memory of the people.

In Rámcharit, Gour, or the country on its north is said to have been land of birth of the Pála dynasty. Gour was then on the north of Navadwip, and far to the south of the present Gour.

It is not clearly stated in Rámcharit how Gopála became sovereign of Bengal and Magadh.

In the later history of Tibet, named *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, written some 200 years ago from Tibetan sources, by *Sumpa Khan-po Yeco Pal Jor* of Tibet, it is stated that the *Pála* kings were of *Suryya Bansha*, that there was a big forest (between *Magadh* and *Bengal*), and near it of a *Chhatttri* girl by a forest God, was born a boy, at a time when in *Bengal* a new king was being enthroned every day, but was being killed in the evening by a *Nági* (*Nág* or *Nágá* woman. History of *Chhotonágpur* and *Magadh* or *Behar* shows that there were *Nág* families of rulers there, who were connected with the *Gupta* kings). The said boy being guided by prediction, went to the person who was to be the king the next morning, purchased his consent, became king, and killed the *Nági* (*Nág*-woman) in the evening. Thenceforward he continued to be the king. The people were surprised. So they came to him, recognized him *páccá* (established or enthroned) king, and gave him the name of “*Gavo Páhla*” (as written in Tibetan). He then reigned in *Bengal* and *Magadh* for 45 years. (I got the above information through the courtesy of Mr. *Karma Sumdhon Paul*, Professor of Tibetan Language in the *Calcutta University*, who kindly translated portions of the above history for me.)

This was the legend current in Tibet. It contradicts the story of election now set up by some writers. Both the stories at least, indicate that *Gopála* became full-fledged king by usurpation or conquest, that the people afterwards without the least resistance attorned to him, and that he belonged to *Suryya Bansha*.

We know from other sources that *Samudra Kul* or *Bansha* was a *Kshattriya* family. At p. 260 of *Játi Bháshkara* published from *Ahmedabad* (*Mysore*), it is stated that *Ságar Bansha* was also a family of *Vaishya* (at least in southern India). *Samudra* is synonym for *Ságar*, and *Kul* for *Bansha* or family. There is no *Sudra* with such family-name. There is no reason to support the assumption of at least one writer that the *Pála* kings were of low origin. It does not appear anywhere that

there was any electoral body or any election system or any Pancháyet to carry on administration. There was anarchy and no organization or Government in Magadh or Bengal when Gopála assumed sovereignty. During anarchy such assumption could not have been quite a tame affair. There is nothing new to laugh at the record that Gopála was born of Samudra (Suryya) Bansha—a record made 700 years ago, when it is found that far away in the Deccan there is record of Samudra family; and it is not unlikely that Samudra is poetic expression for Suryya (Bansha).

Then on reading Mánik Ganguli's *Dharma Mangal* written about 400 years ago about the legend of events of the 8th century it is found that Harichandra was the Rájá of Amrar Garh¹ and that in the expedition of the Gour Rájá against Ichhai Ghosh, who had assumed independent kingship in Trishashtigarh on the Ajay river near Birbhum, the subordinate Rájás of the following places joined the expedition in charge of the commander-in-chief Raja Lausen Koanr of Mayanagarh:—the Rajas of Karnat, Konch, Shimula, Kaund, Teleng, Tunga, Mánash, Banga, Drabirh, Magadh, Vot, Barendra, Mayná, Shallipura, Keunjharha, and of other places.

If there is any historical truth underlying it, it shows that the whole of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and its southern country, were ruled by kings or Rajas, owing allegiance to the king of Gourda. The book, however, is not a history, and the story is a mere tradition, and, therefore the story is to be taken with caution.

The Tibetan story, as to the daily killing of the king in the evening may have the same foundation. The Gupta kings were the descendants of Chandra Gupta II by his second wife whereas none of his children by his first queen who was daughter of a Nág family, could become king (Fleet). It is likely that some lady of that Nág family, having access to the

¹ An ancestor of the *Parchim kul kulin sadgops* of West Bengal.

royal house would approach the new king unsuspectingly, and manage to kill him. It was shrewd Gopála who could understand her tricks and got rid of her. Ancient history tells us that there were powerful Nág kings in earlier days in Magadh.

Gopála was succeeded by his descendants for several generations, by birth-right alone. These Pálas were either Kshattriya or married in Kshattriya families, or they were Vaisyas. Vaisya Jayapird, king of Kashmir, married Kalyandevi, the daughter of Prince Jayanta of Paundravardhana (Kalhan's *Rájatarangini*, Ch. IV, translated by Stein). It was about the middle of the 8th century, and when Armudi was king of Nepal.

After the Pálas were driven away by the Sen Kings of Banga (about Faridpur), they ruled for some time in Magadh, and their last king Indradyumna Pála, being ousted by the Musalmans went southwards to Nilgiri Hills in Urissa, whose king made over his kingdom to him; and he transferring his capital to Puri, erected a temple for the deity, Jagannath.

History of Urissa shows that from before Mahomedan invasion there were hereditary kings in Utkal and in Odra (Orissa). Utkal was on the north of Urissa, and included Midnapur. History of Midnapur shows that there were hereditary kings there and they were Bengalees. The Pála Ráj family of Náráyangarh who at one time held the title of "Shri-Chandan Márisultan" for nearly 20 generations and who are zamindars for the last 3 or 4 generations is an example. (*Vide* T. N. Pal's *Medinipur Itihash* or History.) The Kshattriya¹ Sen Dynasty of Kings of Banga is another example. The Sen family was extinct long ago. Their last king was Biswarup Sen.

In Bhabishya Purana, Ch. 22, p. 326 (Bom. ed.), in the description of the advent of the Mlechhas into the Arya Desh, it is stated :

Lakshan Sen, having the qualities of Ugra Sen, with an army of Seven Lakhs went (to oppose). Dhányapál, Lalla

¹ See copper-plate inscriptions of the Sen Kings.

Singha, and *Krishna Sen* joined him. *Jayanta* with an army of one lakh, *Jagamayaka* with brave people, and other less powerful kings, having an army of one thousand each went to the battle field, *Kurukshettra* (to drive away the Mahomedans). This *Purana* though may be a comparatively recent writing indicates that *Lakshan Sen* was not a coward, as the Mahomedan historian represented him to be. He had a vast army and many kings subordinate to him. None of them could have been of people's choice.

In the south-west of Bengal, *i.e.*, in *Utkal*, and in the further south in *Oḍa* or *Orissa* including *Maurbhanja*, there were several families of independent local kings, principally the *Keshari* and the *Gangá* dynasties—all of whom were hereditary, except perhaps the first of each line. This was so from 396 to 1327 A.D. (—*Epigraphica Indica*; *Majumdar's Orissa in the Making*; *Bishwakosha*; and *Hunter's Orissa*).

Nowhere is to be found a single elected king; nor any republic, at any period, in the early history of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. These are facts which cannot be denied. All those kings made their home within the country they ruled.

Sukrácharya's Sukraniti is an authority on the rules as to Political Societies and Administration of States 2000 years ago—(*Sukrácharya* was courtier of *Chandra Gupta*, King of *Magadh*, Behar). In it there is no mention of election, republic, or of choice of king by the people. There is mention of kings, their qualifications and duties, but no rule in case of their misconduct or misrule. The translation of the book by *Babu B. K. Sarkar M.A.*, is very misleading and inaccurate in many particulars. For instance in many places he has translated *Nripa* and *Bhumipa* by the word prince and not by the word *King* or *Lord of the land*; again he has used the word "*schooled*" and "*unschooled*" in *Niti Sastra* to translate the words "*Abhisikta*" and "*Anabhisikta*," which are well-known expressions to mean *installed* or *enthroned*¹ and *not-installed* or *not enthroned* according to religious rights. Moreover in most places he has

¹ Maonier-William's Sans.-Eng. Dic.

given the substance, and not the literal translation of the text. The liberal principles of the National School of Education to which he belongs might have influenced his rendering into English, unintentionally.

The word "*an-abhisikta*" does not refer to election, but to king by usurpation and conquest ; for in that case no *abhisek* is necessary or prescribed. In the case of election of a king *abhisek* is necessary ; as well as in case of succession.

It is stated that where the Raja disobeys *Niti* (rule) the army as well as the ministers become restless (or perhaps dissociated), and the kingdom becomes insecure¹ (*Sukraniti*, 1-19)

The following rules are stated in it : These rules indicate the position of the ruling power in the *Sukraniti* :

(1) The king must carefully follow the rules of ethics. (Ch. LV. 6). (See also Kautilya's *Arthasastra*, Bk. I, Chs. V & VI).

(2) The king must pursue his own religion, whether he is the king installed or not (I-26).

(3) A ruler of the land or king flourishes by being versed in good ethical rules (I-7). (See Kautilya, Bk. I, Ch. VII, and Bk. VI.)

(4) He who loves the low *class* (not low caste) is self-willed, is wanting in moral rules and false (I-34).

(5) The people without a *lord* (Lord cannot be president, but may mean a sovereign or king) does not look well on earth (I-66).●

(6) The Raja (king)—(cannot mean president)—who is *Dharma-para* (religious or dutiful) appertains to the divine; if he abandons Dharma, he becomes oppressive (I-70). (See also Kautilya, Bk. VI. Ch. I.)

(7) If there is anarchy all people become afraid of evil ; it is to save all that the Lord (here Lord is the Supreme Being and cannot mean the people collectively or singly) has created the Raja (King) (I-71),

¹ The inference is that the kingdom becomes an easy prey to foreign invasion :—See also Ch. I-87, 94, 95, 128, 137, 138, 130, &c.)

(8) The king who is learned is to be recognised as part of the Divine—(because he is sent by God or Lord to be king on earth) (I-86).

(9) The king is made for the service of his subjects, to look after his subjects ; he is made Lord by the Supreme Being. (Here the meaning is clear. Elected king was beyond conception.) (I-188.)

(10) The Ráj-Sabhá (court)—(Functions of the Sabhá are given in detail. It was purely consultative.)—is for consultation and to look after state-affairs. The king must have mild temper, be compassionate, and must not be passionate or quarrelsome.

(11) The king must have control over his senses or emotions, must be religious, practise mercy, friendship, charity, and use of sweet words ; and also must have education in all the sciences and arts; and must not be cowardly. (*Cf.* the attainments of Dayita Bishnoo, and of Bappata as mentioned in Dharmapála's copper-plate grant.)

The book though it was not written in Bengal, has been accepted as authority in Bengal.

There is nowhere to be found any passage in it which expressly or by necessary (and reasonable) inference establishes the assertion of the advanced thought that there was some other form of administration in addition to Monarchy. The king was looked upon as divine and lord of the people. It was part of his duty to look to the comfort of his subjects.

In the Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society for October 1927, Mr. Pantulu, B.A., B.L., by his article on the Judicial Procedure in Ancient India, has informed us that Court was called Sabhá, which was either Mukhya or Amukhya. He mentioned Hill Courts for hill people, Court-Martial Courts, Mercantile Courts, Courts for special castes, and Village Courts. He said a court was either—Pratisthita or Apratisthita, meaning stationary or of circuit. Relying on Brihaspati he asserted that the Judges were appointed by the King's

Seal. Manu empowered a king to appoint a "Pratinidhi" (or substitute) who exercised all the powers of a king.

Relying on Brihaspati Smriti he has also said that the Sabhá consisted of 10 members : The king, the Prádbibáka, the Sabhya, &c. (This passage is not to be found in the Calcutta edition from the Bangabasi Press.) He said that the king was the Judge, and the sabhya would assist him in arriving at the truth (Nárada); the Vakil was then the Pratinidhi or Niyogi.

The following matters are stated in the Mahábhárata :

(a) "How to please the subjects (Shánti Parbba—Apat, Ch. 115, verse 1).

(b) King's means and ways to govern (Udjog Parbba, Ch. 149, and Shánti Parbba, Chs. 91-100).

(c) How to strengthen a kingdom (Shánti Parbba—Ráj, Ch. 94, v. 1)

(d) How kingdom is lost (Do. do. Ch. 93, v. 10.)

(e) What is a kingdom (Udjog Parbba, Ch. 129, v. 10.)

(f) Who may be Courtiers (Birát Parbba, Ch. 21, v. 33.)

(g) Who may be king (Shánti Parbba—Ráj, Ch. 100, v. 1)

(h) The king is always dependant (Shánti Parbba—Ch. 32D.)

But there is no mention of people's government, or Federal or Democratic form of Government. There was no system of election by the people or the reis, *i.e.*, noblemen.

The king was dependant upon the Brahmins of his Court, who were, as religious leaders, very powerful. He would not venture to displease them. Mention is made as to how kingdom may be lost (Udjog Parbba, Ch. 132); but there is no rule for deposing one king and installing another by the subjects or any class of them. There was special home training for princes to be valiant, virtuous and religious. He had several Ministers all appointed by him, and none elected by the people. In all important matters, or matters of policy he would consult the Courtiers in open Court; but in urgent or confidential matters, as well as in dealings with foreign princes or kings he would consult his Ministers. He would act according to their unanimous advice.

These Ministers were taken from learned, respectable, well-behaved (kulin) families, specially from the families who served his royal house. They were either Brahmin, Kshattriya or Vaisya, but never Sudra.

The histories given in the Ramayana, Mahabharata, and the Puranas clearly show that there were royal families and kingship was hereditary; but at times one family was ousted by defeat in battle, but never by the will of the people or any section of it.

The king was generally a Kshattriya, but there were occasionally houses of Vaisya kings, for example the Gupta and the Pála dynasties. The only exceptions were the Nanda family who were Sudras, and two generations of Kaibarttas during the reign of the Pála kings. These Kaibarttas were rebel subjects.

In Srimadbhāgabat occur the following passages :

'The king is Bishnoo (God) personified; he ought not to be classed with ordinary people (I-18-41), the human *Deb* is another name of Hari (God Bishnoo—1-18-42). (Thus the king is Divine and Single ; he is not President of any assembly or a Dictator with arbitrary powers. He is environed by what is divine ; so he as representative of Bishnoo can do no wrong. His existence is mixed up with all that is good. This conception is not consistent with Federation or Democracy.)

In the ancient dictionaries, in Rajanya or Kshattriya Barga (chapter), only the king is mentioned as ruler ; there is no mention of democratic form of Government or administration or election of a king by the people. (Amarakosha, Hemachandra Suri's Dictionary, and Haláyudha's Dictionary.) Then there are the older 20 Smritis or Sanhitas, including the Manu Sanhita.

In *Manu Sanhita* it is stated that even if a Bhumi-pa (Ruler of the land) be a boy, he should not be disrespected or disobeyed ; since he is a divine being beyond all description, in the form of a human being (Ch. 7-8.). He who incurs his displeasure, (by showing disrespect) undoubtedly is ruined, and the "Raja" (king) becomes attentive to ruin him (Ch. 7-12).

If the king fails to discharge his duty, and gives way to his passions, his fame gradually collapses (Ch. 7-34).

The king whose soul is not sublime and soft is sure to be ruined (Ch. 7-39). Thus the kings Ben, Nahush, Jaban (Ionian), Sudám, Sumukh and Nimi were ruined (Ch. 7-41).

There is no rule in this Sanhita for removal of a king who is vicious or oppressive. It is stated that the king who is vicious or becomes slave to his uncontrolled passions is ruined (Ch. 7-46).

The king should appoint 7 or 8 Ministers from amongst those who are hereditary servants of the king, who belong to very respectable families, who are versed in various *shástras*, who are glorious, and who know how to use arms (Ch. 7).

They should be sworn and examined after touching the deities (Ch. 7-5). (This is to be done in the presence of Brahmins; but it is not stated who may enforce it, if disobeyed by the king.) The king should ascertain the views of the Ministers singly in a solitary place and then form his own opinion as to what is best conducive to do good, and act accordingly (Ch. 7-57). In foreign political matters he should consult the *very* religious and learned Brahmin Ministers (Ch. 7-60). The king should treat his subjects as his sons (Ch. 7-80). The king whether he is a Kshattriya or any other person who has become king shall not be wanting in following the rules for kings herein laid down, for dealing with enemies in battle (Ch. 7-98).¹

When the king becomes unable to administer justice personally, he would depute a principal Minister, who is religious, experienced, cool-headed, and belongs to a noble family (Kulin)—(Ch. 7-141).

In the morning the king would enter his *Sabhá*, and thereafter satisfying his subjects in the appropriate manner, cause

¹ Apparently it was contemplated that a man of any caste might be a king. A non-Hindu or foreign king does not seem to have been excluded—the king is to follow his own religion, but he was to respect the custom and religion of his conquered country.

them to depart ; and then hold consultation with his Ministers (Ch. 7- 145, 146).¹

Even the king is to consult the Ministers individually in a separate and solitary place, as stated above, and come to the best conclusion of his own. (The *Sabhá* is not like a Calcutta Darbar, or the People's Assembly of Mysore or of Travancore.)

There was special court of Justice (Ch. 8) in case the king himself was unable to administer justice personally. When he himself does it, he is to be accompanied by at least 3 Brahmins and the Ministers (Ch. 8-1). This refers to Civil Judicial administration. 18 kinds of disputed matters used to be decided by this Judicial *Sabhá* (Ch. 8-4 to 7). This Judicial *Sabhá* was more like the High Court of England deciding Civil cases with the help of Jurors. But in the *Sabhá* the Assessors (and not Jurors) were the king's Ministers or 3 learned Brahmins chosen by the king, and not by the subjects, or taken by the king by lottery.

It does not appear that any section of the people had any voice in the administration of the state.

There were seven limbs of the State :

1. Lord or Raja. 2. Ministers. 3. Friend. 4. Wealth. 5. Subjects. 6. Fort and 7. Army. The subjects were like the feet of man, *i.e.*, carriers of the body. (Shukraniti, Ch. I-62 and Kautilya or Chanakya, Bk. VI.)

The king who is beyond rules and ethics goes to Hell (Ch. I-87 and Ch. V). The king should not go to excesses in play, company of wife, and drinking of wine or liquor—for moderation in these stimulates the intellect.²

The king who does not look after his subjects or adore the Brahmins, is sent to Hell by the deities. (Ch I-121 & 127 to

¹ Thus this morning *Sabhá* is a public open court of the king to hear his subjects and deal with them, and not a judicial tribunal. The Ministers would be there, who are to be consulted after the subjects depart. It is also not like a Legislative Council or Assembly or Parliament. The Executive Committee of the State is held after the subjects have departed (Ch. 7- 145, 146).

² Wine in moderate dose was allowable, but drunkenness was forbidden. The lives of the Governors of the present day are consistent with that Indian ideal.

138). But—*Adānenāpamānena* “*chhalot cha Kaṭuvākyataḥ Rājnaḥ prabaladandena nripaṃ munchati bai prajā.*” (I-13J).—If the king makes no gifts, puts to shame, acts disrespectfully, abuses or inflicts too severe punishment, the subjects forsake him (I-140). (Thus the subjects cannot depose the ruling king and set up another king, but may elect to remain under him or go elsewhere. Whatever religion the king may follow, he is bound to respect the Brahmans, as their authority was supreme in society, and as such they must have their position secure. Otherwise they might make the king’s position insecure. That position of the Brahmins has now been much reduced in society. The Kaibartta rising in the time of Rāmpāla was a revolution to become king, and not to elect or enthrone another king (Sandikar Nandi’s *Ramcharit*).

There are rules also in Chs. I and II of *Jājñabalkya Sanhitā* (Smṛiti) similar to those in the *Manu Sanhita*, with slight differences, which may be neglected for the present. There is no provision for the election of a king. The qualification and rights of the king, as well as his duty to appoint proper ministers are stated in it. He is to administer justice, and if he be unable to do so, he is to appoint a well-qualified Brahman representative, who with the ministers is to administer justice. When the king himself sits to administer justice, he should associate himself with some religious and well-qualified Brahman. Here association with Ministers is not stated as in *Manu Sanhitā*; lapse of time brought on this change. These associates are treated as advisers only. It is not stated that their advice was binding. Evidently the advice of so religious, learned and efficient people of high position would carry great weight with the King. Moreover it is clear that great weight was given to the religious element in the Ministers and in the Brahmans. The same idea runs through *Chānakya* as well.

The Kings of Bengal, Behar and Orissa were thus supreme and their voice was supreme over all their subjects, but to guard against arbitrary and whimsical action, religious and learned

Ministers and Brahmans were associated, whom the king would naturally respect and who on account of their attachment to the royal house, and their formed character, would not mislead the king. It may fairly be expected that such advisers with God at heart and with love for their country and the king, would not be party to any plot to obstruct administration.

The Village Panchayets find no place in the Smritis and Sanhitas or in the Artha Sastra or the Sukraniti. The Panchayet was never a part of the State administration. They had no voice with the Government. They were more or less like arbitrators inter-parties. Sometimes they were selected by the parties and other times they were self-constituted. They did not interfere with the Government or its officers. The village officers such as Gop and Mondol were Government servants. They were sometimes, it is likely, associated with the Panchayet. But there is no text to support it.

The Panchayet system has now gone out of practical life, except in the case of the low class people. The present Local Self-Government courts are attempts at imitation of the Panchayet system; but really there is no similarity between the two. These courts are formed by literate people generally of the higher classes and may be of different castes, and their number is ten, possibly not more than 2 per village. Whereas a Panchayet would be formed by men of the same class or caste with the parties, and their number would be over a dozen—some times several dozens. The Panchayets of old had to be fed or supplied with country-made wine and some food by one or both, of the parties. In case of dispute as to caste or character men of the same caste from different villages would be invited to be in the Panchayet. These are practical things which are not to be found in the *shastras* or religious or law books. Such arbitration by the villagers cannot be said to be administration by the people.

The ordinary *Sava* was a State-function, at which all relations, officials, Ministers, members of the royal family and some

subjects used to be present (Sukraniti, Ch. I—353 to 361 and Kautilya Bk. I, Ch. XV). In matters of state he used to take advice of all the Ministers separately and in privacy, and act according to the opinion of the majority (Ch. I—366 and Kautilya Bk. I, ch. XV). This rule created a moral obligation. There was no obligation backed by sanction, and therefore enforceable by the subjects or the Ministers. The king was not to depend upon his own views but should take the advice of the members of the *Savá*, of the officers, Ministers and of those present in the *Savá* (Ch. II-3). If the king dissociated himself from his Ministers, he would lose his kingdom (Ch. II-4 and Kautilya Bk. I, Ch. V).

If the king have no well-qualified son, to be Jubaráj he would appoint his younger brother, paternal uncle, elder brother, eldest brother's son, or an adopted son to be Jubaráj to succeed him (Ch. II-15). The earlier is preferred to the later, of the series named. Even a daughter's son or any one else may be preferred as Jubaráj. The Jubaráj is to be given proper education (Ch. II—16 and 17), by well-selected persons (Ch. II-21).

The ten persons who were the companions of the king were: Purohit, Pratinidhi, Pradhán, Sachib, Mantri, Prádbibáka, Pandit, Sumantra, Amátya, and Duta (Ch. II—69 and 70); of these excluding the Purohit and the Duta, the remaining 8 get equal pay from the king (Sukraniti Ch. II-73). The Purohit is priest who keeps the king in the paths of morality and religion (Ch. II-80); the Mantri (minister) gives good advice (Ch. II—81); the Pratinidhi distinguishes what is right and what is wrong; the Pradhán superintends all works; and the Shachib looks after the army (Ch. II—84); the Pandits know all about religion; the Prádbibáka knows the law, custom and personal law (Ch. II—85), he was to advise the king after hearing evidence, and ascertaining the truth [like the Privy Councillors (Ch. II-96 to 98)]; the Amátya was conversant with the country and the time; the Sumantra was versed in state-accounting and in the

budget (Ch. II—86); and the Dut was the ambassador with knowledge of various ways and means (Ch. II—87).

The king was to appoint Mantri (Ch. II-13); he was to depute 3 able persons to do a particular work, with one of them as President (Ch. II-109); and to appoint friends and wife's brother as commanders of armies (Ch. I-350). The people had no voice in this deputation.

There is however a limitation to the misdeeds and arbitrary action of a king; for if the king, being of the royal family, be wanting in good qualities and morality and be irreligious and spiteful at the strength of others, moreover if it be necessary to save the kingdom from destruction, then the subjects may forsake him, and instal to the throne a member of the family to which the king belongs, and who is meritorious (Ch. II-274, 275). This is the only concession in favour of the power of the subjects to remove the king. To this extent exercise of the power by the subjects was allowable, and no further. The choice is to be in favour of one of the same royal House, and not of any outsider.

On referring to the various ancient copper-plate inscriptions yet discovered, it will be seen that the titles of the village and superior officers of State indicate that they were subordinate to the King or Emperor, and not officers of a Democracy or Republic.¹

The offices, officers, and titles mentioned in these ancient copper-plates and other inscriptions, are consistent with monarchy alone, and not with democracy.

¹ See Ep. Ind. Vol. 15, p. 130, 133 to 136 and 141 for Gupta Inscriptions; and Allan's Gupta Coins, Nos. 235, 257, 295, 305, 320, 331, 404 and 431; and Fleet's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III. See also Ind. Ant. 1912. p. 214; and J. Andhra H.R.S. vol. II, pt. 2 for October, 1927, for Orissa Inscriptions. At the end of the Kabiraji book Chakradatta, the writer Chakrapani has described himself as Amátya (Mantri or Companion) of Pála king Náráyan and in his copper-plate inscription the Ruler of Barh, Issar Ghosh, has described himself as belonging to a royal House: See Banglar Itihash by R. D. Banerji. See also the copper-plate inscriptions of the Pála king collected in Goud-Lekhā-Māla by archæologist the late Akshaykumar Maitreya and the copper-plate inscriptions of the Sen kings of Bengal yet published.

There were trade guilds in later ancient times. Guilds (sanghas) are mentioned in the *Sukraniti* with their chief as President. There is also mention of *Vaishya* guild in Jataka (Bk. IV-81 and VI-547 and p. 250); House-holder's guild in Jataka II-94; Iron Worker's guild in Jataka Bk. I-320 and II-197; and Washerman's guild and Carpenter's guild in Jataka Bk-14; and IV-99; besides others Fowler's guild in Jataka Bk. V-178 and 187. There were in all 18 guilds (Jataka Bk. VI-14, 220, and 538). These guilds had nothing to do with politics. They dealt with matters relating to individual trades. Each guild had a headman or Mondal; there was also a headman amongst all these Mondals, who had audience of the king, and had a place in his court or Sava. It was the duty of the king to hear the traders through their chief Headman or President of their Sanghas. He was then to pass orders conscientiously. To that extent the ancient kingship was constitutional monarchy and not arbitrary; but the king's rights were not fettered by the voice of the people, through their representative, or of the traders through their headman.

From the above Sanghas gradually separate castes grew up. In more ancient times, it is said in the Bishtoo (Bishnoo) Purana, the earliest of the group of Puranas, that at first all were Brahmans and Aryas; then according to necessity for protection and cultivation, there came into existence out of those Brahmans two classes, who formed guilds of their own, but could acquire less religious merit, these afterwards came to be known as Kshattriya and Vaisya Varna. The servant or Sudra class was formed last. There is no foundation in the Shastras for the assertion of the latter day Brahmans that all were born Sudra, but acquired higher Varna by merit. It is purely a gotup story by selfish people, to tighten their grip on Non-Brahmans (see *Jāti-tatwa-kalpa-drum*, recently published in Bengalee, for a discussion on this subject).

Caste system and caste distinctions have become bane to society. Therefrom has grown up mutual distrust and to some

extent likes and dislikes culminating in hatred, which has been intensified by the recent Census Reports. It appears from all the matters noted that the king was supreme, that his office was hereditary, that he had a divine halow about him, that it was the rule for him to be properly educated in all matters, that he was taught to control his passions while yet a prince, that it was religious obligation upon him to appoint Ministers who are religious, attached to the royal family, well-educated, and of high position in society, and that it was moral obligation upon him to take them into his confidence.

Thus the people knew only monarchy ; the Shastras taught them that the king was divine whether he was his countryman or not and to whatever religious sect he may belong. Democracy and Republic were foreign to them.

Before the advent of the Mahomedans the kings were Hindu, but at an earlier period they were under Jain or Bauddha influence, such as the early Gupta kings. The Mahomedan form of Government gave a shock to the Hindu conception of a king ; but the Hindus with their liberal ideas followed the essence of their religion and continued to look upon the Mahomedan sovereigns as divine. Thus in course of time they said "Dilliswar-o-ba Jagadiswar-o-ba" (*i.e.*, both are one and the same or divine)—The lord of Delhi was the same as lord of the universe or God).

The European ideal that the king can do no wrong is based on other considerations ; in the Hindu ideal much stress was laid upon the learned and pious Brahmans. At the present day the same ideal Brahmans are few and their influence on Hindu society is at a low ebb. In those days all subjects were Hindus (including Bauddhas, Jains, Hill-men and aborigines but society is now complex with peoples of various religions, pursuits, and peoples of different nationalities. To this has been added another element, want of the same religious feeling, the same normal element and the same high ideals. The character of the people has been affected by neglect of

religious and moral training and practices. The same ideal society which existed 2000 years ago does not exist now. Consequently comparison is impossible and the present cannot be guided by the past. Hence a modified form of Government is now necessary. The same want of selfishness in high position is not common now and people with the same sense of attachment to the royal house are possibly few. The ideal of monarchy runs through the veins of all in Bengal, Behar and Orissa. Kinglings and zamindars of all grades have been, within their respective circles, exercising monarchical self-centred powers ; and heads of families have been exercising patriarchal powers, even in joint-families, as a token of heredity.

SARAT CHANDRA GHOSH

LACRIMAE RERUM

Angel of Eternity dost thou know?
One thing remains and all others pass away :
It is the magic sparkle of the moonlit spray.
Life is as darkness, sad and soiled,
Pauseless pain and stinging woe—
An agony that shivers to the viewless blue
And flutters down below ;
The world is wan and drab and dry—
A soul-sickening show,
An age-remembered sorrow sobbing full
In ebbless timeless flow.
Angel of Eternity dost thou know?

S. C. BAGCHI.

SIR WILLIAM WATSON

In reading a paper for the Society¹ I believe I should make it clear that it is not going to be anything in the nature of an advanced study. My ambition is, for this evening, to share with you my enjoyment of Sir William Watson's poetry. This can be done, in my opinion, by drawing your attention to, and commending to your notice, some characteristics of that poetry as had already impressed me, and these may well be illustrated by suitable references to the poems of Sir William. I am afraid, those who expect too much from these readings will be disappointed; subtle explanations and fine touches can be communicated by mere reading only if the reading is first-rate, and I am quite conscious that mine is not.

There is a difficulty, again, attached to my subject. Books are available, on a moderate scale, on "Modern English Poetry" "Recent English Verse," etc., and from them and anthologies which can be easily had in the market we may form some idea of the prevailing moods and the manner of their expression. As soon as we come down to any individual modern author, our difficulties begin. Sir William is now about 73 years old; he has been writing verses and publishing them since 1880; we know of as many as 28 volumes issued by him from time to time; and his latest, so far as I know, is dated 1928. How few of these we can get and enjoy in Calcutta, the earliest seat of English education in India! And this, in spite of the fact that he has been receiving his meed of fame for more than twenty years! The present discussion must, therefore, suffer from inevitable ignorance.

Yet there was a time when William Watson was a name that called forth pleasurable association among those initiated in the ways of the muses. Here was a man who could carry on the Wordsworthian tradition; who could write on Nature's

¹ This paper was read at a meeting of the Poetry Society (incorporated), Calcutta centre, on the 11th March, 1931.

beauties, now in a mood of quiet repose, now with a sense of buoyancy conveyed to his reader through what is meant by the catch-phrase "lyric lilt." April touched him and called forth a song :

April, April,
 Laugh thy girlish laughter;
 Then, the moment after,
 Weep thy girlish tears!
 April, that mine ears
 Like a lover greetest,
 If I tell thee, sweetest,
 All my hopes and fears,
 April, April,
 Laugh thy golden laughter,
 But, the moment after,
 Weep thy golden tears!

The month of May impelled him to celebrate the times by an Ode, which, by the way, reminds us of Swinburne in its pagan note of worship and outspoken style, in its sound quality of musical phrasing, and also in its mythopœic vein,—as the two following stanzas, the last of the Ode, will show :

O bright irresistible Lord,
 We are fruit of Earth's womb, each one,
 And fruit of thy loins, O Sun,
 Whence first was the seed outpoured.

To thee as our father we bow,
 Forbidden thy Father to see,
 Who is older and greater than thou, as thou
 Art greater and older than we.

Thou art but as a word of his speech,
 Thou art but as a wave of his hand;
 Thou art brief as a glitter of his sand
 'Twixt tide and tide on his beach;
 Thou art less than a spark of his fire,
 Or a moment's mood of his soul:
 Thou art lost in the notes on the lips of his choir
 Thou chant the chant of the Whole.

Let me give here another of his season poems—his *Ode to Autumn*—conceived and executed in the well-known manner of Keats and Tennyson and Matthew Arnold, in which he can mourn the loss of the glories and beauties of nature :—

Ah, ghostly as remembered mirth, the tale
 Of Summer's bloom, the legend of the Spring!
 And thou, too, flutterest an impatient wing,
 Thou presence yet more fugitive and frail,
 Thou most unbodied thing,
 Whose very being is thy going hence,
 And passage and departure all thy theme
 Whose life doth still a splendid dying seem
 And thou at height of thy magnificence
 A figment and a dream.

But nature, much as he delights in her splendours, has not closed the gates of his soul to the world of action. He is sensitive to the glory of human action as well, but it is action of a different sort. He thinks himself as good a patriot as anybody else, he is quite alive to the glory and prestige of England, but his conception of greatness is different and peculiar. Keenly alive as he is to the political turmoils and democratic demands, he knows that true greatness does not depend on material acquisition but on largeness of heart and broad-mindedness and that the votaries of the muses must continue to burn their incense untroubled by passing phases, and his poem *England my Mother* contains an eloquent confession of poetic creed from which I take the liberty of quoting :

England my mother,
 Wardress of waters,
 Builder of peoples,
 Maker of men,—
 Hast thou yet leisure
 Left for the muses?
 Heed'st thou the songsmith
 Forging the rhyme?

Deafened with tumults,
 How canst thou hearken?
 Strident is faction,
 Demos is loud.

But the worshippers of Poetry have not left off :

Yet do the songsmiths
 Quit not their forges;
 Still on life's anvil
 Forge they the rhyme.

Because, he says, to sing is an eternal passion not only for man but also for nature whose different manifestations compose one grand harmony :

Lo, with the ancient
 Roots of man's nature,
 Twines the eternal
 Passion of song.
 Ever Love fans it,
 Ever Life feeds it;
 Time cannot age it,
 Death cannot slay.
 Deep in the world-heart
 Stand its foundations,
 Tangled with all things,
 Twin-made with all.
 Nay, what is Nature's
 Self, but an endless
 Strife toward music,
 Euphony, rhyme?
 Trees in their blooming,
 Tides in their flowing,
 Stars in their circling,
 Tremble with song.

At last,

God in His throne is
 Eldest of poets :
 Unto His measures
 Moveth the Whole.

And Poesy is not the plaything of the hour, mere fancy's toy, as some people would take it to be ; it endureth above all things else, or, in the words of the poet :—

Song is no bauble—
Slight not the songsmith,
England my mother,
Maker of men.

He is sometimes aggressive in his love of England, as in his sonnet *On Exaggerated Difference to Foreign Literary Opinion* where he scornfully declares against French and German literary criticism—

“ More than the froth and flotsam of the Seine,
More than your Hugo-flare against the night.
And more than Weimar's proud elaborate calm,
One flash of Byron's lightning, Wordsworth's light.”

Though the poet thus passionately adores his country, his love does not blind him to the ethics of the situation, his sentiment is not tempered by land-hunger or thirst for dominion, and patriotism has not stilled the inner voice. During the Boer War, he was styled ‘Pro-Boer’ and suffered from popular blame, but he replied with dignity to this charge :—

Friend, call me what you will : no jot care I :
I that shall stand for England till I die.
England ! The England that rejoiced to see
Hellas unbound, Italy one and free ;
The England that had tears for Poland's doom,
And in her heart for all the world made room ;
The England from whose side I have not swerved ;
The immortal England whom I, too, have served,
Accounting her all living lands above,
In Justice, and in Mercy, and in Love.

In his dialogue “Alfred” (*Sable and Purple*), which makes poor show as a dramatic fragment, but which only repeats and makes clear the poet's notion of kingly mission on earth, we

get the same stress on intellectual improvement and love of the song as the real need of the people, the need which king Alfred supplied so fully, though he had to undertake wars against the Danish invaders. He kept up quite a different idea of England's mission on earth ; not imperialistic greed, "the common loveless lust of territory" as he phrased it, seeking every opportunity to condemn imperialism ; 'sick are we of the imperial story,' 'How weary is our heart,' etc.—but England that cradled Shakespeare and Milton, England 'mighty from Milton's pen and Cromwell's sword.' This is no narrow mood of grasping gain but a spirit of wide-hearted enjoyment which invites one and all to share the eternal wealth of imagination. Such riches are the only things to care for, there is no exclusiveness, and the poets want to share the rich repast, not to hide and hoard and glut over it in secret.

" —Whoso hath must never hold
The moonrise-pearl and sunset-gold."

Even on a later day while wishing well of the Empire and the Emperor, addressing the King-Emperor, said he :

Let nations see, beneath your prospering hand,
An Empire mighty in arms, its fleets and hosts
Keeping far vigil round your hundred coasts—
An Empire mighty in arms, but therewithal
Nourished in mind, with noble thoughts made rich,
And panoplied in knowledge, lacking which
The proudest fortress is but feebly manned
And ever trembles to its thunderous fall.

He could respect and observe the conventional way of paying court to the crown, but even then could not forget the supreme duty of kings,—education and trustfulness,—which was called for by the King of kings, so that the weighing balance might prove them faithful.

But in describing Sir William's nature poetry, I have not touched on his sea-poetry which occupies a considerable portion

of his verse. Born and bred in Yorkshire, he has found time to listen to the deep and sonorous musings of the sea, and among other things, his sea poems, it may be safe to predict, will endure, in spite of the present-day anthologies ignoring him in their craze for the modern and the ultra-modern. He has heard the music of the sea, the hollow, soundless sea, "dull-breaking on the shores of haunted lands," and has faintly murmured—

"Lo, I am thine: do what thou wilt with me,"

his only prayer being that he may be taken over to the land of heart's desire where he will visualise Her who

Sits throned amidst of magic wealth untold:
Golden his palace, golden all her hair,
Golden her city 'neath a heaven of gold!

Here and there even the serene soul of Sir William catches a mystic hue as it listens to the sea-wind which is a metaphor, sometimes of liberty and sometimes of enslavement, and sometimes again, pitched to a different key, as from the following question:

To-morrow how shall sound for me
The changing voice of wind and sea?
What tidings shall be borne of each?
What rumer of what mystonry?

In his vivid portraiture of the sea, he seems to have caught something of that sombre image of nature which flashed upon his soul a width of horizon approaching infinity:

And skyward yearning from the sea there rose
And seaward yearning from the sky there fell
A spirit of Deep Content Unspeakable.

I do not know if Sir William's *Hymn to the Sea* marks the height of his power in such kind of poetry. In majestic march of words, in the tuning of its key to a high pitch of solemnity,

I should think it may be described as the high-water-marks of his sea verses. There is a restless beat in it which strikes and pauses and strikes again, so that the effect is like the waters rushing and beating on the shore. And the poet combines the metre of Swinburne and the mood of Wordsworth to a force which is his own. I may be permitted to quote only the beginning and the end of his poem which is to me an exquisite piece of workmanship :—

Grant, O regal in bounty, a subtle and delicate largess ;
 Grant an ethereal alms, out of the wealth of thy soul ;
 Suffer a tarrying minstrel, who finds, not fashions his numbers,—
 Who from the commune of air, cages the volatile song,—
 Lightly to capture and prison some fugitive breath of thy descant,
 Thine and his own as thy roar lisped on the lips of a shell,
 Now while the vernal impulsion makes lyrical all that hath
language,

While, through the veins of the Earth, riots the ichor Spring,
 While, amid throes, amid raptures, with loosing of bonds, with
unsealings,—

Arrowy pangs of delight, piercing the core of the world,—
 Tremors and coy unfoldings, reluctances, sweet agitations,—
 Youth, irrepressibly fair, wakes like a wondering rose,

This is the beginning in which he seeks inspiration of the sea to sing or echo back its song ; and the hymn ends with a moralising contrast between man and the sea :

—It is we, light perverts, that waver, and shift our allegiance ;
 We, whom insurgence of blood dooms to be barren and waste ;
 We, unto Nature imputing our frailties, our fever and tumult ;
 We, that with dust of our strife sully the hue of our peace.
 Thou, with punctual service, fulfillest thy task, being constant ;
 Thine, but to ponder the Law, labour and greatly obey :
 Wherefore, with leapings of Spirit, thou chantest the chant of the
faithful,

Chantest aloud at thy toil, cleansing the Earth of her stain ;
 Leagued in antiphonal chorus with stars and the populous Systems,
 Following these as their feet dance to the rhyme of the Suns ;

and so on, the sea flowing on, in unfaltering tide, even when

“ Man and his littleness perish, erased like an error and cancelled.
Man and his greatness survive, lost in the greatness of God.”

Space does not permit me to quote any of his sea poems at length, but I might just mention here that he, while describing royalty, marks above all, the sailor in the king :—

“ Sea-lover, and sea-rover, throned henceforth
Amid the paths and passes of the sea.”

A comparison is here called for with Aurobindo's poem on the Sea,—in which man is extolled over nature as he exclaims—

Take me, be
My way to climb the heavens, thou rude great sea.
I will seize thy mane,
O lion, I will tame thee and disdain;
Or else below
Into thy salt abysmal caverns go,
Receive thy weight
Upon me and be stubborn as my Fate.
I come, O Sea,
To measure my enormous self with thee.

In Aurobindo we thus find far greater importance attached to man than to nature's power, man mastering the sea, not surrendering to it as in Watson's verse.

A greater acquaintance with the sea came to the poet in 1909; he celebrated the yuletide of the year off Havana, Cuba, and ‘ *In the midst of the seas* ’ published in his *Sable and Purple* contains a delightful and powerful description.

‘ Let then not dream that they have known the ocean
Who have but seen him where his locks are spread
’Neath purple cliffs, on curving beaches golden ;

... ..

Dallying about his porch, have but beholden
The fringes of his power, and skirts of his commotion,
And culled his voiceful shells, and plucked his ravelled hair.’

Because they have not seen the power of the sea in the terrors of storm which Watson sings in detail, noting each point of beauty and strength.

A song of the loveliness gotten of Power,
 Born of Rage in her blackest hour,
 When never a wave repeats another,
 But each is unlike his own twin brother,
 Each is himself from base to crown,
 Himself alone as he clambers up,
 Himself alone as he crashes down; —
 When the whole sky drinks of the sea's mad cup,
 And the ship is thrilled to her quivering core,
 But amidst her pitching, amidst her rolling,
 Amidst the clangour and boom and roar,
 Is a Spirit of Beauty all-controlling!

To one particular form of poetry the poet has made a distinct contribution—elegies and epigrams. His second volume published was named *Epigrams* and he had all along an epigrammatic turn in the make of his verse which is sometimes taken to be a positive defect, a possible reason why he fails to retain the public ear, once agreeably tuned to his effusions. In the volume *Retrogression and other Poems*, there is a number of epigrams, with formal varieties ranging from 2 to 8 lines and a few may be quoted as marking the persistence of his tendency so late as 1916, the year of the publication of this volume. Thus, in describing a people's poet, he just writes :

Threadbare his songs seem now, to lettered ken
 They were worn threadbare next the hearts of men.

In expressing his poetic preferences, he comes out with :

I love the poet of cloudless ray;
 Love, too, the folded, golden vapour;
 But hate the humbug who all day
 Serves up deliberate fog on paper.

There is a similar poem on the Celtic revival, under the title :
Who can tell ?

*The Celtic Twilight ? Yes,
Follow the beckon of its fairy moon !
But wherefore chide me if I love not less
The Saxon Noon ?*

Ah, what if Time should breathe
On both the same cold edict of decay,
And with the sole unwithering garland wreath
The Hellenic Day ?

Again, in a cruel, crushing valedictory :

Adieu, gray hamlet—hall and cot,
And ivied steeple !
You would be such a pleasant spot,
But for the people.

May I suggest that the year 1892 was to him a special year, specially consecrated to mourning ? *Lachrymae Musarum and other Poems* seems to support this idea. But before I come to that book, I should like to read out some lines from his *Wordsworth's Grave*, which won from Tennyson that well-known remark : " It is always *verses, verses*, now we have at last a *poet*." It appeared in 1890, and was his third publication in point of order ; some of the stanzas are exquisite and the 2nd section may well bear repetition here :—

Poet who sleepest by this wandering wave !
When thou wast born, what birth-gift hadst thou then ?
To thee what wealth was that the Immortals gave,
The wealth thou gavest in thy turn to men ?

Not Milton's keen, translunar music thine ;
Not Shakespeare's cloudless, boundless human view ;
Not Shelley's flush of rose on peaks divine ;
Nor yet the wizard twilight Coleridge knew.

What hadst thou that could make so large amends
For all thou hadst not and thy peers possessed,
Motion and fire, swift means to radiant ends ?—
Thou hadst, for weary feet, the gift of rest.

From Shelley's dazzling glow or thunderous haze,
 From Byron's tempest-anger, tempest-mirth,
 Men turned to thee and found—not blast and blaze,
 Tumult of tottering heavens, but peace on earth.

Nor peace that grows by Lethe, scentless flower,
 There in white languors to decline and cease;
 But peace whose names are also rapture, power,
 Clear sight, and love: for these are parts of peace.

These exquisite lines, as has been told, had won praise from the then poet laureate; but the latter himself was to survive only for two years more, and when that event took place, it supplied him with a topic for another elegy. This was the main subject of his subsequent publication.—*Lachrymæ Musarum*, in which Tennyson's own style in his *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington* is echoed. I can find space here only for the concluding words in which literary criticism, subdued regret and personal homage combine—

The seasons change, the winds they shift and veer;
 The grass of yesteryear
 Is dead; the birds depart, the groves decay;
 Empires dissolve and peoples disappear:
 Song passes not away.
 Captains and conquerors leave a little dust,
 And kings a dubious legend of their reign;
 The swords of Caesars, they are less than rust:
 The poet doth remain.
 Dead is Augustus, Maro is alive;
 And thou, the Mantuan of this age and soil,
 With Virgil shalt survive,
 Enriching Time with no less honeyed spoil,
 The yielded sweet of every Muse's hive;
 Heeding no more the sound of idle praise
 In that great calm our tumults cannot reach,—
 Master who crown'st our immelodious days
 With flower of perfect speech.

Taking a wide survey of all his poems, as wide as possible in consideration of the dearth of his books here, what strikes me

is the fact that on his voice float many melodies,—melodies that are heard across the distance of many ages. The delicacy of phrasing in the Odes of Keats; the lyric fervour of Shelley; the subdued, contemplative voice of Wordsworth; the conscious appeal to the ear of Swinburne; the stately manner and the onomatopoeic quality of Tennyson's verse; the classic restraint and moralising vein of Matthew Arnold,—have all their echoes in the poetry of Sir William Watson. The result is, not something that jars on the ear, not a discordant confusion, nor a weak eclecticism, but the strain of individual poets is there with their individuality unspoilt in the transmutation,—which makes us heave a sigh of relief, and thank the poet who has sense enough to follow faithfully and separately those masters of song. I trust it is possible to accept this statement without the necessity of adducing any more proof.

It may be asked why, with all these qualities which had received their meed of praise forty years ago, Sir William is no longer the idol of the people, and his claims to be the next Poet Laureate after the death of Alfred Austin were considered and then brushed aside. In the beginning of this century, there had been a chorus of acclamation on his poetic efforts. Some reviewer said—"This is true poetry; its inspiration is genuine and individual, and its execution is full of various melody"; a fastidious paper wrote: 'The verse has a calm sweep, a grave and equable power; a solid and unchastened melody;' 'always classical in the better sense of the word;' in short, 'the very rare and beautiful quality of his poetry' was noticed, 'the true ring of noble thought embedded in noble rhyme' was heard, it was pronounced 'finished and almost perfect.' One kind reviewer went so far as to say: "In its own kind, I venture to say, since *In Memoriam* burst upon us, we have not heard from any new tongue quite so authentic a voice, so large and whole an utterance; we have not met anywhere with such close marks of kinship to the sanest work of the Great English singers." His works must have been also satisfactory so far as sale goes,

because in the case of some volumes a reprint was called forth within a month of the first publication, as in *Lachrymae Musarum* in 1892. When honours came to him, as did Knighthood in 1917, his harp did not go to sleep forthwith, for he has four more volumes of new verses to his credit since that year. Why, then, is his poetry not liked by the general? Is it possible that his political views, the absence of jingoism in him, displeased the powers at Court? It is idle to speculate. One modern critic points out that his poetry is "commonplace in substance," it lacks "the divine urge," the outlook and enthusiasm of faith, and in spite of lofty emotion and finished execution flounders hopelessly against the dark negation of the 19th century,—in short, as I understand, that he is wanting in freshness, that he has no message to give this generation. But of this fault, if fault it be, Sir William was always conscious. The poet knew of this complaint, and in his *Apologia* (*Collected Poems* : 1904) he remarked haughtily :—

Thus much I know : what dues soe'er be mine,
Of fame or oblivion, Time the just,
Punctiliously assessing, shall award.
This have I doubted never ; this is sure.

But he knew there were people who held his poetry colourless, who thought he merely echoed other voices. To them he would reply :

" I have not thought it shame
To tread in nobler footprints than mine own,
And travel by the light of purer eyes."

Poetry must not be the handmaiden of fashion, and mere change, mere novelty would be no credit. Instead his ambition was

" So to sing
As if these lofty ones a moment stooped
From their still spheres, and undisdainful graced
My note with audience, nor incurious heard
Whether, degenerate irredeemably,
The faltering instrument shamed his starry kin."

The passion for physical beauty he does not share with many other servants of the Muse ; he is always alert for the voice that must be obeyed, and answers once for all why his verse shuns this and that subject for composition :—

“ Unto such as think all Art is cold,
 All music unimpassioned, if it breathe
 An ardour not of Eros' lips, and glow
 With fire not caught from Aphrodite's breast,
 Be it enough to say, that in Man's life
 Is room for great emotions unbegot
 Of dalliance and embracement, unbegot
 Ev'n of the purer nuptials of the soul.”

For which ideal of the poet's vocation, high and at the same time humble, let us thank Sir William as serving the cause of Humanity in his own way.

An appreciation should not deviate into an appeal, and a poet's gifts should not be measured in terms of gold and silver. But when everything has been said and done, in the name of internationalism which, let us hope, is no myth, in the cause of the Muses who are not merely legendary, mention should be made here of Sir William Watson's present circumstances, which had been such as to require outside help. He is now 73, is in bad health, and in view of his age and poverty a committee has been formed in London for the relief of the poet and Lady Watson and their two daughters. The current issue of the *Poetry Review* states that collections at meetings have been made and independent subscriptions raised at centres of the society and by individual members, and this our centre would do well, in my opinion, to join in this laudable endeavour and contribute its quota to the general fund.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

GANDHI AND MACHINERY

It is generally held that Gandhiji's economics is a century or two behind times and that he, by his medieval theories, is turning back the wheel of time. It is also asserted that specially in his treatment of "Machinery," the world teacher in him vanishes yielding place to the narrow nationalist.

Leaving aside for the moment economic problems resulting from a universal application and expansion of modern machinery, like the rapid exhaustion of the supply of mineral energy, the overhead burden of expense for machine repair, maintenance, etc., and the effects of centralised production and distribution, we shall confine our attention to an interpretation of Gandhiji's ideas about machinery in the light of his philosophy.

Gandhiji's philosophy of life centres round the concepts of Truth, Ahimsa and Love. According to him, "The law of Love governs the world. Truth triumphs over Untruth. Love conquers hate. God eternally triumphs over Satan." (VI.43.)¹ His purpose in life is a search for Truth. (VI. 52). "My religion is based on Truth and Ahimsa. Truth is my God. Ahimsa is the means of realising Him." (VII. 2.) He believes in Ahimsa because, "it is not *Himsa* or destructive energy that sustains the world ; it is *Ahimsa* or creative energy." (VII. 23.) Every aspect of life according to him, is based on Ahimsa and Love. Gandhiji's political philosophy, economic policy, educational reorganisation and social reconstruction are all based on this central principle. And his views on 'machinery' are a direct corollary of his philosophy of life.

Two Points of View.

Gandhiji views machinery from two points of view—the ideal and the practical. The one is an ideal, peculiar to himself and others of his faith, and the other, an economic proposition.

In his inspiring dialogue with Ramachandran, Gandhiji says “Ideally, however, I would rule out all machinery, even as I would reject this very body, which is not helpful to salvation, and seek the absolute liberation of the soul.” From this point of view, therefore, he would reject all machinery, since it is an impediment to the soul’s progress. The body is pitched against the soul as something alien and opposed to its welfare. Its clingings and cravings are a hindrance to the emancipation of the soul. But Gandhiji escapes the apparent dualism by asserting that the body is an inevitable associate of the soul. In the same sense, the machine is also inevitable.

From the practical point of view, a machine is necessary and inevitable for the furtherance of life’s ends and purposes. “Machinery has its place. It has come to stay.” (VII. 45.) There is nothing inherently evil as such in machinery, just as there is nothing inherently bad about the body as body. It is only in its ephemeral desires and dreams that the weakness of the body lies. Even so, the propriety of a machine consists in the *use* to which it is put. A machine is only the means through which man realises his self in daily life. Every tool is a machine. “The spinning wheel is itself a machine ; a little tooth-pick is a machine.” Everything depends on how the machine is used for the furtherance of man’s ends. The man is the end, machine the means. For Gandhiji “the supreme consideration is man.” The machine should not make a tool of him.

The Function of Machinery.

What then are the primary functions of a machine according to the Gandhian philosophy of life?

1. One of the functions of a machine is 'to save labour.' A machine must utilize all the creative energy that is readily available in the nation. (VII. 3.) But the nemesis is reached when men go on 'saving labour' till thousands are without work and thrown on the open streets to die of starvation. Gandhiji wants to save time and labour "not for a fraction of mankind but for all." (VII. 36) A tool or an appliance or a machine which saves the labour of all human individuals has fulfilled its purpose and deserves to find a place in the economy of life. But a machine which helps a few hundreds 'to ride on the back of millions' and robs the bread of myriad mouths is the fruit of greed. Exploitation of the weak should not be its mission.

2. A second and vital function of a machine is to help an individual in the expression of joy. The creative urge in life must find complete expression in handling the machine. It must enable an individual not merely to 'work' but to work skilfully. Such a machine helps the soul in its onward march through life by providing aesthetic enjoyment, since it converts 'boredom' (as Bertrand Russell prefers to call mechanical labour) into skilful work. A machine which is nothing more than a shortcut to our ends, a device to lessen human labour and lead to idleness, an affair of pressing buttons and turning switches, harbingers the deathknell of all art. As Principal Jacks puts it, "of all the wrongs that have ever been done to labour, I count that the greatest which came into being when the efficiency of the machine took the place of personal skill as the foundation of industrial prosperity. A greater calamity has never fallen on the human race." (The Art of Living Together,

L. P. Jacks, p. 129.) A machine should create character and not paralyse personality into a type.

3. A third function is to provide a living for man. A machine must enable the simplest and the poorest to keep the wolf off their doors and provide for themselves by dignified living the primal necessities of life. Even a world catastrophe should not disturb the unbroken composure and palmy peace of the worker at the machine. In other words it must be the symbol of economic independence. (VII. 26.) Its purpose is not to fill the pockets of those who are already rich but of the starving and the needy millions. (VII. 35.)

4. We have hitherto been considering the function of machinery in relation to man as an individual. But man *quâ* man is an abstraction. According to Gandhiji, "The growth of an individual if it is real must be reflected in the growth of the society of which the individual is a member." (Cuddalore speech.) What purpose therefore does machinery fulfil in society? A machine should advance social interests and promote the welfare of society as a whole, not of a particular group or unit. It must link together man and man not in a remote, indirect manner but in an immediate, vital and vigorous way. It must be the symbol of social service of the highest order (VII. 17) and the foundation for all public and corporate life, a living bond between the classes and the masses. (VI. 36.) In no sense should machinery interfere with the growth of the individual and the peaceful progress of humanity.

5. It must be educative to everyone who handles it. Even the non-scientific man must be able to understand its working without much knowledge of technique. The ideal machine is that which furnishes every grade of worker with scope for the intelligent display of skill so that his day's labours might prove a valuable education.

6. A machine must be based on spiritual principles. According to Gandhiji they are Truth, Ahimsa and Love. The welfare of humanity ought to be its goal. A machine that

robs even a single person of his mouthful and contributes to his mental and moral deterioration is to that extent founded on *Himsa*. If love is not the basis of invention, machinery is mockery. This is the reason why Gandhiji makes an exception in the case of the sewing machine. A worker at the machine is not like a buffalo turning the oil mill. Work at the machine must be *Yagna*, sacrifice. It must bring solace to the troubled spirit, soothe the distracted mind and spiritualise one's life. (VII. 5.)

Thus we see that in the Gandhian philosophy of life, machinery occupies an important place. It has spiritual, moral and material purposes to fulfil. Gandhiji does not suggest the destruction of all machinery, for that would mean complete annihilation and death, but its limitation in the light of non-violence and Truth. (VI. 33 and 36.) As he puts it, "That use of machinery is lawful which subserves the interests of all. (VIII. 15), but he finds that in the modern craze for the race of life, machinery is not being used for man but man for the machine.

The Evils of Modern Machinery.

If machinery is such a necessary phenomenon and if it can also advance the spiritual and material ends of humanity why does Gandhiji condemn it as a 'curse?' The answer is because it has trespassed its proper bounds and abused its powers and functions.

At the present day, the function of machinery has been to crush human labour and "help the few to ride on the back of millions." The machine has led to the concentration of material power and immense wealth in the hands of a few capitalists, with the consequent strangling of the nobler springs of conduct in man. The breaking up of the peaceful family life, resulting in the menace to virtue and integrity to family solidarity; the increased death-rate, specially of infants, in slum areas; the

disease and degradation of congested slums, leading to a lowering of the tone of domestic life and to criminality and vice ; the economic disparity between the producer and the labourer due to a mushroom growth of middlemen and social parasites—are some of the rampant evils which even the apostles of modern industrial civilization are constrained to admit. The worker, instead of singing the song of life, suffers devitalisation in the monotonous, joyless round of existence from morning till eve. His hours of leisure, instead of being converted into factors of social and personal value, have become unwholesome by his being drowned in drink and vice.

Gandhiji is so pained at the mental, moral and physical destruction, the inordinate thirst, rush and ultimate chaos that has resulted out of modern machinery that he says, "If by some sudden catastrophe all these instruments were to be destroyed, I would not shed a single tear. I would say it is a proper storm and a proper cleansing." (VIII. 3.) Hence his strong denunciation of modern machinery as a curse to humanity. We have already seen how his Philosophy of Ahimsa gives wide scope for machinery of the right type.

Spiritualized Economics.

Gandhiji has spiritualized economics as he has spiritualized politics. Said he, "Whereas religion to be worth anything must be capable of being reduced to terms of economics. Economics must also be capable of being reduced to terms of religion or spirituality." (Y.M.C.A. speech). It must represent years of meditation and communion with suffering and Human Nature. In his scheme of Religion-cum-Economics, as he terms it, there is no room for exploitation. His ideal is that Capital and Labour should supplement each other. They should be a great family living in unity and harmony. (VIII. 34.) Spiritual economics based on faith in God, Truth and Love of humanity teaches us that men in charge of machinery will think not of themselves

or even of the nation to which they belong, but of the whole human race. (VII. 38.)

By a stroke of good luck, India may to-morrow send bales of fine textiles to Britain and other countries of the world and commence a chapter of wrongs and exploitation. She might thus wreak vengeance on history but would never save her soul. Her culture and her philosophy of Ahimsa point to a different moral. Her material progress must be based on the religion of humanity. What sublime economic principles are laid down in Gandhiji's statement, "I want India's rise so that the whole world may benefit; I do not want India's rise on the ruin of other nations." (VII. 11.) This is not narrow nationalism but universalism of the purest type.

Summing up, from the purely *paramarthika* point of view, Gandhiji considers machinery an evil and a curse, while from the *Vyavaharika* point of view, he regards it as an inevitable necessity. But a machine is only a means for the progress of humanity and must be based on the ideals of Truth, Ahimsa and Love. It must be simple, life-giving, educative, creative, humanitarian and spiritual. Gandhiji has discovered one such machine—*The Spinning Wheel*.

K. SREENIVASA ACHARLU

A ' GLIMPSE INTO THE LITERATURE OF ASIA ' ¹

The subject-matter of this evening's talk is not an exhaustive treatment of the entire literature of a vast continent like Asia but only a glimpse and that again into not, however, the ' literatures ' of Asia but the ' literature ' of Asia. You will at once understand that I am going to claim on behalf of Asia a fundamental unity. My revered friend, present here, Dr. Bhagawan Das, spoke the other day on the unity of thought in Asia. I am going to claim for Asia another kind of unity, namely, unity in literary activities representing the cultural unity of Asia. We are reminded by our good friends of the West, in season and out of season, that, not to speak of the whole of Asia, even India at best is a geographical unit ; that we have no essential unity in Asia ; that we even in India are not a nation, that we are a congeries of races ; that we are divided linguistically, socially, politically ; that we have not been successful in establishing in our midst any kind of cohesion by virtue of which it is possible for any Indian to legitimately claim that his country, like many other countries which claim this privilege, possesses the same kind of unity. But we here are to-day more audacious. We have gathered here under the auspices of a Pan-Asiatic Conference,—the All-Asia Educational Conference—with its unmistakable implication of some kind of an intellectual unity.

There is, it appears to me, a good deal of misconception with regard to the idea of unity. Unity is not the same thing as homogeneity. Unity presupposes a previous stage of differentiation. One may be permitted to use the language of philosophy in this Conference of educationists ; therefore, I

¹ Public address at Penares All-Asia Educational Conference delivered extempore on Tuesday, December 30, 1930.

would say that, as in the progressive growth of humanity evolution tells us that we start in the march of civilisation and culture from the stage of thesis and then pass into the stage of antithesis before it is possible for us to achieve anything like synthesis, so unity, which means the same thing as harmony, presupposes a good deal of differentiation without which no progressive growth is possible for humanity in any department of life. We do not, therefore, claim that there is any such thing as an all-Asiatic homogeneity.

There is, we admit further, a good deal of difference between one part of Asia and another part of Asia, politically and socially, morally and in religion ; but in spite of all these differences it is possible for a thinking man to discover some elements by reason of which one may legitimately claim that there is, indeed, such a thing as a fundamental unity in the whole of Asia. Religious, social, even political unity, not to speak of racial or linguistic unity, is comparatively difficult to establish over a vast continent, but literary unity is more feasible and, when achieved, more lasting, because in this realm disruptive influences do not operate with equal vigour or violence. Again, so far as literature is concerned, taking literature at its proper value, we have to remember that literature is an interpretation, an expression of life, and life in its totality seeks to be reflected in the literary activities of a country however vast. If, therefore, it is possible for us to discover anything like a fundamental unity in the life of the whole of Asia it follows logically as a corollary that there is bound to be in the literature of Asia also a reflexion of that unity. No other part of the world conceived and realised as Asia, pre-eminently India, has done the idea of an essential unity between man and the universe around him and particularly an all-pervasive unity of all sentient existence. The Indian philosophical idea of all existence being in substance and essence one and the same is completely reflected in the entire literature of the whole continent of Asia. This special feature of Asiatic

thought and literature was thoroughly appreciated, for instance, by the great Goethe, by Emerson, and in our day by W. B. Yeats or George W. Russell (A. E.).

Before I pass on to the points of differentiation, I must dwell for a few minutes on some of these elements of unity that it is possible to discover in the literature of Asia. The first thing that strikes me in this literature, as contrasted with the literatures of Europe and America, is that our literature seeks to represent that aspect of human life which penetrates through the mere shadow-shows of things into the abiding reality within, which tries to penetrate through the mere outer shell into the kernel within. Hence the literature of Asia was conspicuously the literature of contemplation, of meditation, of relative introspection and of fervent spiritual ecstasy. As a form of art it may be characterized as expressionistic. Its method was more idealistic and romantic than realistic or naturalistic. It is this inner vision, this deep insight, this penetrative glance, this kind of inquisitive spirit of Asia which marks her off from the rest of the world.¹ Asia has, of course, never forgotten the elementary fact that it is necessary for a man for the purpose of biological existence to master the forces of nature, to conquer them, to harness them to man's service, or better still, to bring about a sort of adjustment, if not harmony, between man and nature corresponding to the idea of the unity of all conscious life in the universe just pointed out by me. Yet nature in Asia, particularly in India, which is the centre of Asia, has been considered to be, after all, a more impermanent shadow-show beyond which, when you lift the veil, you can discover an abiding permanent reality. It is this basis of the eternal behind all changes, it is this quest of the changeless which for ever is in the

¹ Cf. "The true poet is gifted with a kind of 'second sight,' higher and freer than the ordinary sense, and with this gift he becomes a 'seer.' This ideal seeing, or seeing of the ideal, is the first and indispensable work of the poet."—F. C. Prescott, "The Poetic Mind," p. 139.

midst of things that pass away—it is this which forms the central thing in the life of the Asiatics and it is this which pre-eminently finds its reflexion in the literature of Asia. We in the East, stupidly condemned as immobile, do not worship mere change mistaking it for progress, nor make a fetish of progress either. I do not forget the fact that spiritual life can never be the monopoly of any continent, however vast it may be. I do not forget the fact that you can find in Western literature such spiritual life as they in the West desire, but I cannot say, however, with the same force and vigour, as I can do with regard to the literature of Asia, that there are the same *significant* characteristics in any of those literatures as you find in the literature of Asia.

That great critic of to-day, the Italian philosopher-critic Croce, reminds us in his “Aesthetics” that even characteristics do not always sufficiently characterize things and therefore it is necessary for us to distinguish between characteristics. To use a common parlance, there are characteristics and characteristics; and unless you are capable of discovering from many of these different kinds of characteristics that characteristic which may be called the most *significant* you are in vain trying to find out the ultimate principle underlying anything complex. It seems to me that we Asiatics have a right to claim that this deeper vision, this intuitive way of looking at things, is the *significant* characteristic of Asiatic life reflected in Asiatic literature. We do not grope in the dark for spiritual light; we do not beat about the bush in our attempt to discover life's meaning and aimlessly roam about for the realization of the highest truth. The quest of Truth is altogether of a different nature than the ancient *Rishis* of my revered land have taught us in the Upanishads. It is that perception, it is that vision, it is that insight, it is pre-eminently that realization through *Sādhanā* which enables the great seer and sage to discover the whole truth at once and not any fragment of it at a time. Just in the same manner it may be possible for a man to have a vision for a single minute

and see the whole of the firmament illumined by a single flood of light in a dark clouded night. This totality of consciousness, deepened and widened, comes like a flash and when it comes, lo, there is the Rishi! It is this which you specifically find in the literature of India. I claim further that as India is certainly the geographical centre of Asia, so from India has been carried to the different parts of Asia the torch of the highest kind of light—as, for example, through the medium of Buddhism—all that is deep in our Vedic literature, or the philosophy of the Upanishads, or the poetry of India as represented in the Mahabharata and Ramayana, in the plays of Kalidasa, in the beautiful lyrics that we have got in his Meghaduta, or finally in the celebrated poetry of India by the poet of all poets, our own Bengali poet of to-day, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. So, whether it is in philosophy, considered as literature, or in poetry, considered as literature, we find that the one note by which the centre of the whole of Asia tries to impress the whole Asiatic world is the note of representing to the world through literature this kind of truth, namely the “*Akhanda*,” indivisible, undivided One, a whole. And unless you see that whole all your life is a futile effort in the search for reality. This is the reason why some Rishis have told us that goodness is the same as truth, truth is another name for beauty, beauty again for joy, and joy for love—all different facets of one and the same shining light,—different types of manifestation of one unity, different names for one Reality—Goodness, Truth, Joy, Beauty, Love. This is why in India there was an over-emphasis on love as *ahimsa* from the era of Jaina and Buddhist supremacy right up to our own. It is erroneous to trace, for example, Mahatma Gandhi's creed even in the Indian political life to-day to the influence of Tolstoy, or to Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, where the hero's character is remodelled on this ideal of spiritual resistance combined with physical non-violence towards the supreme tyrant, Jupiter. Hence, Asia never had, like the West, anything like a whole literature of war based on the cult of aggressiveness or aggran-

disement, far less of exploitation of weaker groups of men. The Mahabharata is not merely an epic of war. The Ramayana is based on altogether a highly ethical foundation of the ideal of its hero's character and achievements. The East has always laid greater stress on amity, harmony, assimilation instead of extirpation than on ideas of national or racial superiority, on mutual co-operation and fellowship than on individualistic competition, on duties more than on privileges, on responsibilities than on rights.

The much-misrepresented and more-reviled Brahmanism or Brahmanical culture emphasized the true Brahman's responsibilities to the entire social organisation as its spiritual leader and guide, as benefactor of the community as a whole but seldom stressed his rights and privileges, self-sacrifice, self-control, a rigid process of ethical and religious discipline having always been made his guiding principles in life. Our social organisation, so suitable to our environment, had for its real end the ideal of orderly progressiveness through harmony and not conflict of interests; and, therefore, undue prominence was never given to militant class-consciousness which unfortunately is to-day disturbing our peaceful growth on account of the importation into the East of the ideas and conditions of a purely commercial and industrial civilization of the West. This Eastern social harmony is a reflection of the philosophical ideal of the harmony of truth, beauty, goodness, and love and joy. It is only in days of lowered social vitality that our flexible class divisions degenerated into rigid castes : but even then we were free from any disorganising, if not devastating, class-war, far less had we anything so horrible and hideous as Western colour prejudice and irrational claim of racial superiority. The East has never known any lawless lynching law, so disgraceful and so abominable. Westerners try to make capital of the Nordic type, but I may tell you on this occasion what I had from my friend Professor Radhakrishnan who, while speaking once recently in London on something connected with biological and

social factors, told his audience with his brilliant humour that the Creator in the act of creating men at first underbaked men and women and gave the world the white races, and in his hurry to correct his blunder went next to the other extreme of over-baking and gave us the Negro races, but, finally, growing wiser through trial by error, struck the golden mean and eventually filled the rest of the earth with the brown races! Yet, let me add to that, to-day, we find these white races are obsessed with what they call the "Yellow peril" or Whiteman's burden.

The transcendental one is the indescribable one; and constituted as our fragmentary minds are, words fail there and imagery fails there, in our attempt to represent the whole in all its aspects. That is the reason why in literature in all countries, but particularly in the East, great writers have taken shelter in parables, myths, legends, and through such contrivances, tried to represent that which passeth all common understanding. Thus, the literature of Asia was the earliest in having devised means of popular presentation to the huge multitude of her highest realisation of life's meaning in forms calculated to appeal to the imagination of the masses and capable of giving satisfaction to the emotional side of human nature, more or less in an unsophisticated condition of growth. Though the result of this process is to diversify literary activity by giving it different forms, yet there is in consequence no blurring of the main or fundamental note. This is the one great note by which I say the whole of Asia is united and it is the one note by which Asia in her unity stands for ever distinguished from the rest of the world, incapable of being at all confounded in her individuality.

The second note that strikes me is the note of concentration, of condensation. You will at once think of the style used in our *darshanas* for the purpose of representing the highest kind of truth. We have, therefore, our very condensed, terse *sutras*, which are not introduced into our literature merely for

the purpose of helping the memory. It is true, no doubt, that at the time of the *sutra* ages men had not the opportunities of printed encyclopædias as to-day. The *sutra* literature had to be memorized but it took that form not for that one purpose alone. Western critics of Chinese literature and Chinese painting invariably recognize that concentration is considered by the Chinese as absolutely essential. This is a well-known characteristic of the Sung period of Chinese art. It is this which makes Japanese poetry more suggestive in its style and manner than exhaustively descriptive and we all know that in Japanese painting fidelity to actual reality is seldom insisted upon, at any rate, in the way it is done in Western realistic literature and art. It was the Asiatic way of seeking a form for substance in the realm of aesthetics and form and substance are fundamentally and essentially connected with one another. It is a well-known principle in aesthetics, for instance, that all types of beauty have their corresponding forms. In reality, you can no more separate form from substance than you can separate the length of a thing from its breadth. In mathematics you, no doubt, postulate that there is such a thing as a straight line which has length without breadth. But after all it is only a logical abstraction—a postulate. In reality, is it possible for us to separate from any object its length alone giving the go-by to its breadth, even when we think of only two dimensions? And to-day Einstein tells us that it is not enough to think in three or four dimensions and in filling in the contents, this inter-relation will necessarily become more complex, as for instance, of mass and energy in the modern quantum theory. In thought, far more in Art, you cannot separate form from substance. They refuse to be thus sundered or divorced. Wherever there is any ideal beauty there is surely a corresponding form connected with it and he is the right type of an artist who knows spontaneously and naturally what particular form is appropriate to a particular kind of thought or idea to be presented in terms of beauty. This is

the reason, for instance, why Shakespeare chose for his literary representation of life the dramatic form. The passion in Shelley was indomitable and irresistible and though sometimes raw yet oftener than not etherealised; and it is embodied in a kind of poetry of beautiful short lyrics which sometimes like so many rockets suddenly shoot up from the earth into the upper sky. You see that you are in the presence of iridescence of the brightest light of etherealized passion which is also another name for the highest truth. Similarly, in our country we find in the different ages of literary activities from the Vedic times down to the present day that poet-artists have naturally been successful in finding the appropriate type of form for the representation of their specialised thought movement. This special feature of Indian literature and art dominates, more or less, the whole of Asiatic literature giving it a real unity and the condensed '*sutra*' was our appropriate literary form.

The next point to which I would invite your attention is that there is such a thing in Asiatic literary activity, as there is in Asiatic thought and philosophy, as an extraordinary *purity* as contrasted with the West. I challenge every man and woman—nay, even a person like Miss Mayo who, by nature and temperament, is the fittest to smell something stinking in everything Oriental,—to find in our Upanishadic literature, in Sheik Sadi's works, or in the poetry of the Chinese, anything suggestive of the least indecency, far less anything that is immoral. Dr. Giles generously and with admiration bears testimony to the remarkable and extraordinary purity of Chinese literature which contains nothing that can give offence to the most sensitive critic in matters of decency and delicacy. Who does not know that the ancient Iranian, or better, Zoroastrian ideal of purity both of body and mind was imperative for man in the culture and civilization of that part of the East? Zoroastrian literature reflects this characteristic far too emphatically for me to emphasize it. This is,

again, a note for which we Asiatics stand out before the whole world with our heads aloft in that meekness and humility which befitteth the land of Confucius, Zoroaster, the Vedic Rishis—of Buddha, Shankaracharya, Chaitanya, Tukaram, Nanak, Dayanand. We always have learnt the lesson of humility and we always have realised the importance of modesty. But that is hardly any reason why, when attacks are so stupidly and cruelly hurled by paid assassins even upon our women we should care to remain silent. Our women in the past, particularly of Rajputana, have shown to the whole world with what devotion it was possible for them to become consecrated to the ideal of chastity, i.e., the highest possible virtue of purity in man or woman. They faced death with smiling faces and with deliberate cool courage. Theirs was not the heroism of the common soldier, the mercenary fighter, who marches to the sound of the beating of the drum for the purpose of bayoneting his enemies. That was surely not the case with Indian women who deliberately, with cool, calm courage, knowing full well what they were doing, courted cheerfully and happily the cruellest suffering,—cold death—on a burning pyre in preference to the saving of life at the expense of woman's highest virtue. That was done by India and India alone in the name of the highest virtue, in the name of purity, in the name of chastity. This intense love of purity is largely responsible for Oriental regard and respect for asceticism reflected particularly in the literature of India and China of which the inner significance is missed by Western critics of our life and letters. This purity, this chastity which was thus shown by Rajput women you will discover reflected in every part of the literature of Asia and specifically in the ideal heroines of the Indian epics and dramas. This is a message which through this All-Asia Educational Conference we to-day give and meekly want to send forth to the rest of the world to emulate so that it may be able to realize the glory of India and to see where the real greatness of Asiatic life lies. Our literature

before its unwholesome¹ contact with that of Western countries never stressed what is called the sex-dual. Even to-day we do not find our cultured women-folk fancying the existence of a day when Eve delved and Adam span. They are yet free from the antics of the new woman of the West.²

Let me proceed next to deal with some points of differentiation. There are many books in which we necessarily find mention of Arabic literature, Persian literature, Sanskrit literature, of Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Canarese, Urdu, Hindi literature—of Chinese and Japanese literatures. And you have a plausible reason to say that Asiatic literature is the sum-total of all these different literatures and that is a plurality. But I still stick to my original phrase, the literature of Asia as distinguished from the literatures of Asia. Different races or peoples inhabiting a vast continent like Asia have, no doubt, different *types* of thought, idea, sentiment and emotion. These different **types**, however, do not destroy the quality of the genus, as you all know if you have the least knowledge of biology. There may, again, be innumerable types belonging to a single species. The character of the species, however, is not at all destroyed by the fact that it contains innumerable individual types any more than the character of the genus is affected by the fact that it comprises within its limits innumerable species. On the contrary, such varieties all the more lend force to the fundamental idea that the species is there in spite

¹ "The English public," says Oscar Wilde, "as a mass, takes no interest in a work of art until it is told that the work in question is immoral." "Until the decadent nineties, 'moral' was a definite term of praise; since then among many intellectuals it has had a derogatory sense, precluding beauty." Louis Untermeyer's "American Poetry since 1900," p. 23.

² Cf. "To-day we are in a tidal wave of faithlessness. The innumerable divorces of our day will become even more numerous when the children of the divorced parents grow up. They very likely will not be faithful to their sex partners, because they have not experienced what fidelity is, and what its value may be. They miss the happiness and satisfaction of fidelity, and take freedom in exchange. They are appallingly free."—Fritz Wittels, "*Critique of Love*," pp. 175-176. *Vide* also the last chapter of the book on "The Childwoman," specially the concluding paragraph.

of individuals and that the genus is there in spite of the species. I look upon the literature of Arabia, of Persia and of India, of China and Japan, or if you would prefer the other form, the different *types* of literature in India, and other parts of Asia, as representing various aspects of *one and the same unity* to which I have already invited your attention and of which I have within my limits indicated the significant characteristics.

Taking first of all the case of India, Indian literature may be distinguished, let us say, from Persian literature, or from Arabic literature, or from Chinese literature, or from the literature of Japan in one or two particular ways. In India there has always been the supremacy of the spirit over the flesh, and in this supremacy the ethical note has not always been *sufficiently* emphasized except in one period, namely, in the history of our literature of the Buddhistic period. In other words, we in India have not given the same amount of emphasis and stress on the ethical aspects of life in our literature except in the Buddhistic period. We have not similarly stressed to the same extent as the Muhammadans have done the idea of the unity of God as represented in our literature except when in the Upanishadic stage philosophical speculation soared high into the realm of the One. We are essentially as much monotheistic as any country in the world, as any civilization, as any culture, as any philosophy, as any literature; but I must confess that our monotheism has become, if not eclipsed, considerably overclouded in the Pauranic period. Consequently the masses do not realise as thoroughly this conception of one God as you find, for example, in the case of the Muhammadans or even some sects of the Christians. This is entirely due to the fact that at later periods in the history of the literature of India the desire was to reach a lower and lower level of intellectual appreciation so that the masses might never be completely neglected. Another charge which I may refer to in this connection that is so frequently and thoughtlessly brought against us is that for centuries we have

kept a vast population of India in what is called a submerged state. To-day much capital is sought to be made out of the submerged class as if Hinduism never thought of raising them from their lowest level of animal existence, as if Hinduism never ministered to the highest needs of the soul of the masses. We have always done it; and the desire to popularise the highest thought or the highest spiritual ideal necessitated this coming down to such a device as we find represented by the Pauranic literature of our country.

We find, again, for instance, in the Persian literature from the 6th to the 11th century, in the Sufi writers particularly, the presentation of the One, not however through the medium of thought but through the medium of emotion. This is a mystic note and Persia shares it with India. The essence of mysticism lies in personal realisation of a communion between the individual and the universal through the medium not of reflexion but through an emotional merging of the individual into the universal-chaitanya. It is in a way the emotional exaltation of the whole self of man. It is exaltation not merely of one part of man; it does not dismiss the intellect altogether, but it is the assimilation of the intellect into the emotional side of man's existence which enables, for example, Vaishnavism to represent the highest conception of reality in and through feeling alone. That is also the reason why music was made to play such an important part in this new kind of presentation of the ancient idea of unity between man and God. Later on, this Vaishnavism in the hands of the great Bengali poets took a new form,—the form, namely, of adding on to this communion between the living soul of the individual man and the source of all eternal love, God, a new conception of beauty which is decidedly different from the Westerner's sensuous appreciation of beauty in woman. In other words, aesthetic began to be added to philosophical emotionalism and far richer became the contents of literature because literature is always bound to be the highest expression of life in its totality as life keeps pace with a

progressively changing environment. Those of you who have any knowledge of Saadi or Hafiz, especially of Jalaluddin Rumi in the original, are in a position to give me a lesson with regard to this particular aspect of the literature of Persia; but even through the medium of translations it becomes sometimes possible for us to realise this new way of presenting beauty and love in and through poetry, as we find particularly done in one epoch of the literature of Persia or of India and of China.

Turning towards Japan we find another thing added on to that, namely, the beauty of nature, of landscape. This element is not wanting in Arabic, Persian or Indian pœtry, but in these it is not a *significant* characteristic, whereas it is a notably significant characteristic of Japanese art and literature. It is the suggestiveness of Japanese literature and art which is a marked feature of the history and the development of art as well as of the philosophy of thought in that far-eastern Nippon which means, you know, the land of the rising sun.

Yea, we Asiatics are men belonging to the land of the rising sun, of that Orient which has given to the world a Confucius, a Buddha, a Chaitanya, a Zoroaster, a Mahomet, nay to Christendom its Christ. Who ever has heard of the rising of the sun in the west? If light ever shines first, it does in the east.¹ We positively refuse to give them this right of being the sole judges of the civilization and culture of such a large portion of the whole world. Is it because the sun is never allowed to set upon the British Empire that the Britishers claim the right of being the judges regarding the art, philosophy and literature of all countries? They speak of the literature of Europe—literature as reflecting a unity of life.² May I ask what

1 ***" The knowledges, religions and philosophies of ancient Asia are brought to nourish the ever-wakeful minds which Europe produces in each generation; and this powerful machine transforms the more or less foreign conceptions of the Orient, tests their depths and extracts their serviceable elements."—Paul Valéry.

2. As regards America, Mr. Corrad Aiken in his *Civilization in the United States* emphatically reminds his readers "to keep in mind our perception of American cultural heterogeneity."

unity of life is there between Mexico and California, what unity is there between Chicago and Peru, what unity was there between Hungary and the rest of the Austrian Empire, and what unity was there between the smaller states constituting Germany and Prussia lording over the rest before the days of Bismarck, what unity of spiritual idea was there in Christianity itself when Roman Catholics publicly burnt the Protestants and Protestants in reply publicly burnt the Roman Catholics, and what about the Bartholomew massacre? The East had down to the 6th century A.D. never known any organised religious persecution. Christ's ideal is a great ideal, for which personally I have the highest reverence on this side of idolatry, but are Christians the true followers of the Christ-ideal? How many of them are prepared to accept the Christian ideal of turning the second cheek to the man who assaults the first as our great Mahatma enjoins on us in a way to-day?

In concluding, I will simply tell you that the highest end of this All-Asia Educational Conference will be frustrated unless we are capable of recording some kind of message for the whole of Asia, and beyond the shores of Asia for the whole of humanity. Remembering full well how slippery the prophet's stool is, I would yet venture to prophesy that in the fulness of God's time and when the right moment does arrive, Indian civilisation and Indian culture, forming the centre of all-Asian civilisation and all-Asian culture, will not only form the most important element for progressive humanity but, as I think, will be capable of giving guidance to the progressive march of humanity through the rich legacy left to us as literature by our great sages and seers.

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

THE FUTURE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

The first problem which faced the delegates to the Round Table Conference was whether the future constitution of India was to be a unitary or a federal one. The desirability of abolishing the distinction between British India and the Indian States, by bringing together under a federal system of government the whole geographical area of the country, was never questioned by any one. But doubts were felt by some as to the practicability of the idea in the existing circumstances of India, while fears were entertained by others as to the consequences of an association of units so differently situated in respect both of status and political experience. But before the discussion had proceeded very far, all doubts and fears were set at rest by declarations made by the Princes to the effect that they wanted an All-India Federation. Thereupon, the Federal Structure Sub-Committee decided that the component elements of the proposed Federation should be, on the one hand, (a) the federating provinces of British India, and on the other, (b) such Indian States or groups of States as might choose to enter the Federation.

The decision was, on the whole, a correct one. But one important matter should not be lost sight of in this connection. The character of administration will be different in the two categories of units. The provinces will be democratically governed, while the principle of autocracy will continue to prevail in the States. The main reason for which some members of the Conference agreed to lend their support to the idea of a Federation was that the States would introduce a stabilising factor into the constitution. Stability is a good thing, but adequate precaution will have to be taken to prevent stability from degenerating into stagnation. The hope has been expressed in

many quarters that in ~~the~~ course of time democratic ideas and ideals will filter down to the States. It is to be confidently expected that the process of filtration will not take many years to become complete, and that before long autocracy will give place to popular rule in Indian India.

The list of subjects drawn up by the Federal Structure Sub-Committee, jointly with the Provincial Constitution Sub-Committee, comprise four categories, namely, central subjects, central subjects wholly or partly federalised, provincial subjects, and provincial subjects partly centralised. In addition to these, there will be some Crown subjects in regard to which the Governor-General will, during the period of transition, be responsible to the British Parliament. It should be noted that under this scheme a few all-India subjects will be federal, while the rest will remain central; besides, some subjects will be federal only for policy and legislation, but not for the purpose of administration. The proposed Federation will thus be an incomplete one; in fact, it will partake more of the character of a Confederation than of a Federation proper. Not only that; there will be two Federations,—a Federation of Provinces within an All-India Federation. Such an arrangement is sure to give rise to great complications in actual working and may lead to serious conflicts between the different authorities. The distinction between the two categories of subjects, federal and central, was made at the instance of the States representatives, who were anxious to see that they parted with control over as few subjects as possible. The hope was, however, expressed by several members of the Sub-Committee that a time would come when there would be no separate category of central subjects. The sooner this hope is realised, the better for all concerned. Meantime, the proposed system will tax in the fullest degree not only the ingenuity of the constitution-framers but also the skill and sagacity of the practical administrators. Such a complex scheme can only be accepted as a temporary makeshift, and this view should be expressed in the constitution itself.

After some discussion the Federal Structure Sub-Committee came to the conclusion that there should be a single Executive and a single Legislature to deal with both federal and central subjects. But it was not decided whether the States representatives should or should not participate in the discussion of the central subjects in the Federal Legislature. Nor was it settled as to what should be the extent of control exercised by such representatives over the Federal Ministry. The Sub-Committee expressed the view that the Federal Legislature should consist of two chambers. They were further of opinion that the Upper Chamber should consist of 100 to 150 members, and the Lower Chamber, 250 to 300 members. The numerical strength of a legislative body should be fixed with reference to two principles, namely, first, that the size should be adequate for the purpose of representation, and second, that it should not be too large for efficient working. Keeping these principles in view, the numbers suggested by the Sub-Committee may be regarded as reasonable.

On the question of distribution of seats between British India and the Indian States, the Sub-Committee reported a difference of opinion. The Princes pressed for equality as between the States and British India for representation in the Upper Chamber. It seems very strange that such a claim was put forward, for at an earlier stage of the discussion the Princes themselves had declared that they wanted to federate, not with British India as a whole, but with the provinces. Reference was made in the course of discussion to precedents, but these are not all in favour of the Princes' demands. In the Reichsrat of post-war Germany, for instance, population is the basis of representation, although the minimum and maximum numbers of representatives of the States are fixed. The Sub-Committee agreed, however, to concede some "weightage" to the States, the chief reason for making the concession being the desirability of securing the goodwill of the Princes. For the Lower Chamber also, the States claimed some greater representation than they would

be entitled to on a population ratio. But the British Indian delegates were not prepared to accede to this demand. No departure from the population basis can in theory be supported for representation in either of the two chambers. But a more important consideration is that the composition of the Federal Legislature must not be such as to make it possible for the less advanced parts of the country to hamper the progress of the more advanced. The note of warning sounded by Mr. Jinnah in this connection should not go unheeded.

The Federal Structure Sub-Committee expressed the opinion that the qualifications for membership of the Upper Chamber should be such as to ensure that it would be "a body of weight, experience and character." The object aimed at is surely a laudable one, but it would hardly be possible to attain it if the qualifications are made exactly similar to those now in force for membership of the Council of State. These qualifications include a high property qualification, the payment of income-tax at a high rate, and the holding of Government titles ; and it would be absurd to pretend that these guarantee the possession of the virtues mentioned above. There is great deal to be said in favour of the suggestion that the Upper Chamber should be elected by the provincial and State legislatures. The Senate would in such a case represent the federal principle, and the arrangement would be in conformity with the practice which prevails in some Federations.

On the question of the method to be adopted for election to the Lower Chamber, the members of the Sub-Committee were unable to record a unanimous view. This is to be deplored, for they could not have been unaware of the fact that almost in every Federation of the modern world the Lower Chamber is elected directly by the people. The Sub-Committee ought also to have known that nothing but a system of direct election could possibly be acceptable to the country. As for the system of representation of the States, the Sub-Committee was content to leave the matter in the hands of the Princes themselves.

The Sub-Committee perhaps felt that, technically, there was no other alternative left to it. But the Princes could not have failed to notice the anomaly of the position in which the nominated States representatives would sit side by side with the elected representatives from British India. Nor would it be right and expedient on their part to ignore the declared wishes of the people of their own territories in favour of the introduction of the same system of election to the two Chambers as might be provided for British India.

In regard to executive administration, the Sub-Committee proceeded on the basic assumption that, subject to certain special provisions, "the responsibility for the federal Government of India will in future rest upon Indians themselves." The proper method of giving effect to this principle was, in its opinion, to provide that the executive authority should vest in the Governor-General as representing the Crown, who would be advised by a Council of Ministers consisting of persons commanding the confidence of the Federal Legislature. The Sub-Committee further recommended that there should be a Chief Minister and that the responsibility of the Ministry should be collective. So far so good. But it is important to note the special provisions. The Sub-Committee agreed (i) that during a period of transition, the Governor-General should be responsible for Defence, Foreign Relations, and Relations with the Indian States outside the federal sphere, and (ii) that in certain situations the Governor-General must be at liberty to act on his own responsibility, and must be given powers to implement his decisions. The Sub-Committee further suggested that the discretion of the Governor-General should be absolutely unfettered in his selection of advisers for the administration of the reserved subjects.

The proposed system thus is none other than dyarchy—a system which has failed in the provinces and become extremely unpopular. It was perhaps with the object of removing some of the objectionable features of dualism that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru

suggested that the Governor-General's advisers for the reserved subjects, although they were not to be responsible to the Legislature, should be members of the Council of Ministers and technically removable by an adverse vote of the Legislature. He admitted the anomaly involved in the proposal, but thought that, under the arrangement proposed by him, the Ministers in charge of the non-reserved departments would be able to exercise considerable influence over the reserved departments. This undoubtedly would be an advantage from one point of view. But the scheme does not appear to be a workable one, as it is likely to give rise to a multitude of difficulties. If no alternative could be found to a dual system, it would be better to introduce, for the period of transition, dyarchy in its true shape than to seek to hide its faults by methods of doubtful utility. The only practicable way in which the evils of a dyarchic system could be minimised would be to provide for joint consultations between the two branches of Government as part of the normal day-to-day business of administration. This would furnish the opportunity for "cultivating unity in the Government" which Lord Reading considered to be a great merit of Sir Tej's scheme. In such an arrangement the Governor-General's advisers would occupy a position similar to that occupied by "Extern" Ministers provided for in the Irish Constitution. It should be made clear, however, that such an arrangement would be a temporary one, and would automatically give place to a system of full cabinet responsibility at the end of a stated period.

The question of the stability of the executive engaged the serious attention of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee. The suggestion was made, and found a large measure of support, that Ministers should not be compelled to resign save in the event of a vote of no confidence passed by a majority of at least two-thirds of the two Chambers sitting together. This is a reactionary proposal, and it is a matter of no small surprise that it emanated from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. But the very

fact that a sincere and ardent patriot like Sir Tej made himself responsible for the suggestion makes it incumbent on us to examine it with due care. The essence of the proposal is that a double obstacle is to be placed in the way of removal of a Ministry. In the first place, the decision of both the Chambers is made necessary for turning out a Ministry, whereas in most of the modern constitutions it is provided that the adverse vote of the Lower Chamber alone should be sufficient. Secondly, the suggestion is that a majority of two-thirds, if not three-fourths, should be needed for such a purpose. Sir Tej referred in support of his proposal to the Czecho-Slovak constitution ; but, as a matter of fact, its provisions are more against him than in his favour. Article 75 of the Czecho-Slovak constitution runs thus : " The Government shall be responsible to the Chamber of Deputies, which may vote a resolution of lack of confidence. Such a resolution shall not be carried save by an absolute majority of votes, the voting being taken by roll-call and an absolute majority of the Deputies being present." The object of the last sentence is merely to provide a safeguard against a "snap" division, but there is no mention of a two-thirds or a higher majority. This object is sought to be gained further by the provision in Article 76 which lays down that "a motion of lack of confidence must be signed by not less than 100 Deputies and shall be referred to a committee for report thereon within a period not exceeding eight days."

The precedent of the Czecho-Slovak constitution is thus not of much assistance to Sir Tej. The acceptance of his suggestion would tend to make the Ministers irremovable except in very special circumstances and give rise to conflicts between the executive and the legislature. If, however, a provision similar to that of the Czecho-Slovak constitution be embodied in the new constitution of India, it is likely to be less open to objection. It may be pointed out in this connection that it is only in a few of the post-war constitutions that a special procedure has been laid down for the discussion and voting of motions of want

of confidence. The constitution of the Austrian Republic provides as follows : " For the adoption by the National Council of a resolution withdrawing confidence, the presence of one-half the members of the National Council shall be requisite. Even so, upon demand by one-fifth of the members present the voting may be deferred to the next working-day but one." On the other hand, a motion of lack of confidence may be carried in Ireland, Germany and Poland by a simple majority and without the necessity of its being subjected to a procedure of an unusual sort.

With regard to the position of the Governor-General in relation to his cabinet, the Sub-Committee's recommendation is that it should be provided in the Instrument of Instructions that the Governor-General should preside when he thinks it desirable to do so, leaving the matter to his own discretion and good sense. This is hardly satisfactory. The presence of the Governor-General at meetings of the cabinet is inconsistent with the principles of parliamentary government, and is likely, in many cases, to place either the Governor-General or the Chief Minister or both in embarrassing positions. The Instrument of Instructions should, therefore, direct that the Governor-General ought not ordinarily to preside at meetings of the cabinet.

I have already referred to the powers proposed to be vested in the Governor-General in regard to the reserved subjects. But no clear indication can be obtained either from the reports or from the proceedings of the Sub-Committees as to the extent of the reservations. For instance, with regard to Defence, the question is, Was it the intention of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee to place all matters relating to the subject beyond the reach of the legislature? If this was so, no patriotic Indian could possibly assent to the proposal. The people are deeply interested in questions like reduction of military expenditure, Indianisation of the Army, military training, and creation of a Volunteer Citizen Force ; and in

no circumstances are they likely to be prepared to deprive the Federal Legislature of all control over these subjects. If, however, the technical side of military administration was all that the Sub-Committee had in mind, many Indians might accept the suggestion for a definite period. The Sub-Committee further expressed the view that the Governor-General should not be dependent for the supply required for the reserved subjects on the assent of the Legislature, but that the annual supply should be treated in a manner analogous to the Consolidated Fund Charges in England. A great deal of confusion seems to have been created in the minds of the members of the Sub-Committee by a false analogy. The British Parliament has full power to fix the amount of Consolidated Fund Charges and to vary it whenever it chooses to do so. But the Sub-Committee proposed to divest the Indian Federal Legislature of such powers. It was further suggested that the budget allotment should be settled upon a contract basis, but it was not made clear as to who were to be the parties to the contract. In addition to these ordinary powers, the Sub-Committee proposed to invest the Governor-General with special powers, both executive and legislative, for securing in the last resort peace and tranquillity and for safeguarding the rights of the public services. When one remembers how special powers have been exercised in the past, one naturally feels inclined to ask what guarantees have been provided in the constitution to prevent their abuse in the future.

In the sphere of finance, the Federal Structure Sub-Committee was of opinion that it would be necessary to reserve to the Governor-General essential powers in regard to budgetary arrangements and borrowing. The Sub-Committee did not deal fully with the extent of these powers. But the intentions of the British delegates may be gathered from the observations of Lord Reading, who said: "The public debt, the services of the loans, the payment of interest, etc., drawings (if there are drawings) of bonds, sinking funds, redemption

of debt, the pensions maturing and already matured, salaries and emoluments of officers engaged by the Secretary of State and in the Civil Services, and also the conditions of service in relation to retirement and so forth, are outside the region of discussion." I wonder if there is any Indian, no matter what his political creed, who can contemplate with equanimity such an encroachment on the authority of India's new Parliament, and I have not the shadow of a doubt in my mind that any constitution which seeks to embody restrictions of this sort will run the risk of being forthwith rejected by the people. The future progress of the country will depend very largely upon the amount of money which will be available for the beneficent activities of the new Government. But one can easily understand what funds can be provided for such purposes when one finds that nearly three-fourths of the net revenue of the Federal Government are to be placed beyond the control of the Finance Minister and the Federal Legislature.

The ostensible ground on which these restrictions were proposed was that no room should be left for doubt as to the ability of India to maintain her financial credit both at home and abroad. But it is difficult to see why such doubts should arise at all. The assumption that Indians will not know their own interests or will be devoid of capacity to take care of them is an unwarranted one. Nor can it be maintained with any show of fairness that currency and credit have in the past been always managed by the British Indian Government with sole regard to India's interests. No possible objection can be taken to the establishment of a Reserve Bank in India, provided its composition and powers are such as to inspire public confidence. Guarantees will be willingly given by India for meeting her past financial liabilities after these have been scrutinised by an impartial tribunal. But loan operations of the future must come entirely under Indian control. Similarly, Indian publicists will have no hesitation in assenting to reasonable proposals for safeguarding the

interests of the present members of the Services ; but they cannot possibly allow questions connected with the recruitment of the future services, the fixing of their emoluments, and the regulation of the conditions of their tenure to be determined otherwise than in accordance with the wishes of the Indian executive and legislature.

The question of commercial discrimination was considered by the Federal Structure Sub-Committee as well as the Minorities Sub-Committee. The principle of equality of treatment was agreed to. But it must not be forgotten that equality can be real only when the conditions are equal. Further, on behalf of the British commercial community it was urged that commercial reciprocity should be established between Englishmen in India and Indians in England. But everybody knows that such reciprocity can have no real meaning where the differences in situation are of so glaring a character. So far as I am aware, there is no desire on the part of any Indian to discriminate against individuals of any foreign race or community. It is, however, the insistent demand of the Indian people that the Indian legislature of the future must be left completely free to adopt whatever measures it may consider necessary for the protection of the economic and commercial interests of the country.

The Provincial Constitution Sub-Committee came to the conclusion that, in the Governor's provinces the existing system of dyarchy should be abolished and that all provincial subjects, including law and order, should be administered in responsibility to the provincial legislatures. The decision will meet with universal approval. The Committee further recommended that the executive should be jointly responsible to the legislature. This also is a wise proposal. The majority of the Sub-Committee was further of opinion that the Instrument of Instructions should contain a direction to the Governor to endeavour to secure the representation of important minority interests in the Ministry. This is a suggestion of a most retrograde character. It would undoubtedly be desirable to

include in the provincial cabinet the representatives of the minority communities, but this should be the concern of the Chief Minister, and not of the Governor. To place any obligation on the Governor in this regard would not only lead to an interference with the discretion of the Chief Minister, but would also be incompatible with the principle of joint responsibility of the Ministry. Another reactionary proposal is in regard to Second Chambers. The Sub-Committee reported that opinion in favour of a Second Chamber had been expressed in Bengal, the United Provinces, and Bihar and Orissa. So far as Bengal is concerned, the statement is wholly incorrect. Public opinion in this province is definitely and strongly opposed to the creation of a Second Chamber, and any attempt to thrust such a body on Bengal is sure to lead to trouble.

The recommendations of the Franchise Sub-Committee are exceedingly disappointing. Some extension of the Franchise will not meet the requirements of the situation. It is true that there are various difficulties in the way of introduction of an adult or a manhood suffrage. But if the communal problem is to be properly solved, there is no other alternative. It is a matter for regret that the Minorities Sub-Committee did not approach their task in that spirit of broadminded statesmanship which was essentially needed for successfully tackling the problems with which the country is faced. Every patriotic Indian earnestly wishes that these problems will ultimately be solved in a manner conducive to the growth of a healthy national spirit in the country. The question of the separation of Burma was decided in a hurry, and in a most unsatisfactory manner. It now appears that a great body of opinion in Burma is strongly opposed to the policy of separation. The question is one which should be left entirely to the Burmans themselves to decide, and a referendum seems to be the best way in which Burmese opinion may be ascertained. There is considerable room for criticism in the Reports of the other Sub-Committees, but the space at my disposal will not permit me to discuss them. I should like, however, to mention

that several matters of vital interest to the people have so far been left unconsidered. The most important of such matters is the future of the Council of India. This body is now an anachronism, and an extension of its life is sure to impede the march of India towards complete self-rule.

Before concluding, I ought to say a word about a subject which seems to have exercised a great influence upon the members of the Round Table Conference and helped very largely to distort their vision. This is the possibility of a breakdown of the new constitution. If the constitution be really a good thing, I cannot understand why people should be so foolish or perverse as to indulge in "persistent and concerted action" to make it unworkable. But I apprehend danger from a different quarter. If the new constitution sinks at all, it will sink under the weight of safeguards and reservations. It is a mere truism to say that a constitution can never prove a success unless it is brought into existence in an atmosphere of confidence and goodwill. In order to secure the goodwill of India, the British statesmen must change their attitude of suspicion and distrust. A bold step, it is true, will have to be taken; but boldness alone can not save the situation. From the Indian standpoint, no constitution will be regarded as worth anything unless it secures to the people the substance of freedom. In order that the Conference proposals may stand this test, the suggested safeguards and reservations will have to be examined with the utmost care. The Indian National Congress has already declared that only such safeguards would be acceptable to it as might be proved to be in the interests of the country. No reasonable person can take any exception to this attitude. As for the extent of the reservations and safeguards, these must be confined within the narrowest limits. A definite time-limit will also have to be fixed in the constitution, on the expiry of which the reservations and safeguards will automatically lapse. Sincerity, earnestness and foresight are the qualities essentially needed in those who will be ultimately responsible for the framing of the new constitution of India ;

and unless these qualities are forthcoming in an abundant measure, it will not be possible to end the present deadlock or to establish relations of amity and concord between India and England.

PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA

Reviews

Critique of Love. By Fritz Wittels (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London) and dedicated to Sigmund Freud, whose discoveries about the all-pervasive influence of "sex" are applied here with rich illustrative details of human behaviour under the various and subtle influences of love, both normal and abnormal, is a lucid and popular treatment of the subject of sex-life from the standpoint of psycho-analysis. It claims to be "an original study in applied psycho-analysis" and the author, an outstanding Freudian psycho-analyst, endeavours to convince the American public in particular, that "the new truth in connection with sexual life which Freud has brought to us in his illuminating work is not as loathsome as many people imagine."

The questions mainly discussed in this book of 313 pages, divided into ten chapters, relate to various types of sex deviations and "perversions" (scientifically handled by the psychiatrist Krafft-Ebing)—specially *sadism*, *masochism*, exhibitionism and its correlated 'peeping' propensity, in short, all forms of sex expression connected with the *erogenous* zones of the human body apt to arouse and satisfy the *libido*—homo-sexuality, bisexuality, narcissism and love and marriage. Three chapters are devoted to elaborate studies of (1) parents and children, (2) *le grand amour* and (3) the child woman.

The author widens the scope of psychoanalysis, no more limited to the treatment of nervous people, to include, as a psychological system, nearly every social science—"ethnology, anthropology, philosophy, literature, universal history, theology, pedagogy, criminology, and others" (p. 38). But he sets up no absurd claims for this new science and silences adverse criticism by clearly asserting that "psychoanalysis has no suggestion to offer. Psychology tries to see and to explain what is. We do not prophesy. Often we are called pessimistic. In fact we are neither pessimistic nor optimistic. We are not philosophers. Like every one else we see the crisis in marriage to-day and try to understand the psychological side of this situation. Sociologists and others who are moved by reforms may use our statements" (p. 277).

This is sound common sense at its highest level. Similarly in Ch. VI (on Parents and Children) we have, apart from a thorough discussion of the relation between parent and child, so manifold and complex, explanations of the origin in the growing infant of (1) a sense of personality, (2) conscience and (3) God. The writer's undogmatic observations on this difficult problem are:—"The children become, as a rule, religious

about the same time they develop their Super-Ego. Psychoanalysis does not dissolve the problem of religion totally. We only contribute to the problem in disclosing the connection between father, Super-Ego, and the concept of God. Psychoanalysis cannot decide the theological question as to whether God has created the Super-Ego or the Super-Ego has created God " (p. 192).

Yet parental influence, as presented in the book, seems to be slightly exaggerated more in its permanence than its influence. Though the volume before us is singularly free from hasty generalisations, we find it difficult on occasions to agree with the writer's conclusions. For instance, we may just refer to the connection established between pessimistic philosophy and masochism, or to statements like these—"In ancient times romantic life did not exist. It does not appear in Homer * * * (p. 197)." "Neither the heroes of the great love which devours life, nor the poets, who are dear to us as singers of love, ever grow up in normal families" (p. 198). Tennyson, even Shelley, if not Wordsworth, will at once give the lie to the last observation.

More pertinent and cogent are our author's observation (pp. 176-177) on the effect of the Oedipus complex on the relation between a step-mother and the grown-up daughters of her new husband. The practical question of divorced parents in relation to their children particularly girls is very lucidly discussed. Numerous concrete cases cited or described in illustration of the writer's conclusions considerably enhance the value of this book. The general reader possessing sufficient elementary knowledge of psychoanalysis, the literature of which is daily growing too unwieldy for him, will find this volume to be very interesting and edifying reading. Sex and its varied implications are clearly set forth, the function of psychoanalysis in teaching the rising generation much having a direct bearing on life is elucidated, and the power of ideas in generating physical changes in men and women and even inducing symptoms of disease convincingly demonstrated. In Ch. X the writer elaborately discusses types of womanhood in an arresting manner.

Let us point out, in conclusion, for the delectation of educated India, the queer statement occurring at p. 77 regarding "masked sadism":

"In all primitive religions, we see a clear connection between cruelty and ritual. This is true even in the ritual of the East Indians, which can hardly be called primitive. The veneration of the Goddess Khali (*sic*), for whom one must slaughter one's best friends and nearest relative, is but one evidence of this ; another is the Suttee (burning of widows)."

J. G. B.

Vidyasagar-Prasanga. By Mr. Brajendranath Banerji. Price Re. 1. Messrs. Gurudas Chattopadhyaya & Sons, Calcutta, 1931.

It is gratifying to note that new light has been thrown on the life of one of the makers of modern Bengal, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, in the *Vidyasagarprasanga*. There is a standard biography of the great man, great on so many counts, but this present work breaks new grounds. It is interesting to learn that Vidyasagar was recommended to the Principalship of Sanskrit College, only because no European with the requisite scholarship was available; we have certainly travelled a good way because the proper thing to-day would be to appoint a European only when an Indian with suitable qualifications is not to be found. The advocates of free education would be rather shocked to learn that it was Vidyasagar who began the practice of charging a small fee from the students of the college who had, before him, enjoyed immunity in that respect, and that this innovation resulted in regularity of attendance and increased attention to studies. It is no less interesting to go through Vidyasagar's observations on the reconstruction (re-organisation?) of the Sanskrit College in course of which he expressed a decided leaning for Mill's Logic and material philosophy in preference to the *Sāṅkhya* and the *Vedānta* schools of thought. For the first time, the book shows up the radical reformer in Vidyasagar, in full significance of the term "radical." All these findings have been arrived at by diligent readings of original Government Records which Mr. Banerji has ransacked for the first time and thus earned the thanks of all interested in the history of Bengal in the 19th century. The style is clear, simple and fresh and we have only to say, that আবশ্যিক (p. 14) is not a happy word in Bengali for 'compulsory' (education). Mr. Banerji's work is a distinct and valuable contribution which is sure to be appreciated, and the introduction by Mahamahopadhyay Haraprasad Shastri recounting his personal reminiscences is an additional attraction.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

The Maid of the Hill. A poem in two cantos. By Innocent Sousa. London: A. H. Stockwell, Ltd. 2s. net.

This is a poem in two cantos in 8 line stanzas and composed in octosyllabic verse in the manner made popular by Sir Walter Scott whose reminiscences sometimes peep out as we read on. It is to be admitted that the writer has chosen his theme from the life around him, and the book presents a real and local problem, how to get over the dowry evil and make the way smooth for true love. 'The Maid of the Hill' is a sweet maid who can play the guitar with skill and whose shyness prevents her

from taking any active part in the story except prompting the sentiment of love in Edmund ; he, the hero, son of a rich and haughty merchant, has generally travelled over South Africa for trade and has returned home on a short visit. The poet introduces him as offered welcome and hospitality, when he has lost his way in the shadows of the evening, in the villa of a *Bhatkarà*, the father of the maid. The chance acquaintance ripens into love unspoken, but the social difference is great and when the *Bhatkarà* calls upon the merchant and formally proposes the match, he is repulsed on the ground of insufficient dowry. But Edmund, who comes to know of it from the old peasant as he turns away in disappointment, smooths matters by declaring to his father that his is a case of pure love and there has been no scheming on the part of the maid, and—in short, he *would* marry her. The father can no more withhold his consent, and the popular saying “ the way of true love never runs smooth ” is given the lie to : Edmund weds the maid.

It is a modest tale, modestly told. But the execution is not above reproach : the name of the bird so much praised in the preface is given as ‘ Mordon ’ (p. 8) and ‘ Mordvon ’ (p. 10). More reprehensible are the instances, which are now and then to be found, of simply unintelligible gibberish or grammatical quagmire, *e.g.*,

“ How came *thee* to this lonely place,
Far from the town and populace? ” (p. 17)

“ A little wine will ye not take,
The chills your limbs begin to quake? ” (p. 18)

The book requires careful revision that such passages may be weeded out.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

The Religious Basis of World Peace—is a very interesting little volume of 167 pages, published by Messrs. Williams and Norgate, Ltd., London. It consists of 12 chapters written by eminent authorities each master on his topic. The book is a very readable one and fully justifies and proves the claim of Christianity as a Religion of peace and goodwill. It was really very entertaining and even pleasure-giving for me to read how the cardinal conceptions of Christianity have been applied to the problems of World Peace in the attempt to solve them.

I cannot but speak too highly of the performance of the eminent writers who contribute towards the make-up of the book. It discusses

some of the problems of international law from the religious and metaphysical points of view and convinces one that world peace without a religious basis would be a meaningless void and a soulless body.

M. K. SHIRAZI

The Twelve Principal Upanisads—Volume I—With text and English translation by Dr. E. Roer. Demy 8vo pp. x+312. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

This handy volume contains the text of the *Iśa*, *Kena*, *Kaṭha*, *Praśna*, *Muṇḍaka*, *Māṇḍūkya*, *Aitareya* and *Svetāśvatara* Upanisads in Devanagari character, together with an English translation and extracts from the commentaries of Sankarāchārya and the gloss of Ānandagiri. The aim and object of each Upanisad is explained in the introduction which precedes the translation of its text. The extracts from the commentary of Sankara do much to explain technical terms and help the ordinary student to understand the meaning of difficult passages. The English translation is good and bears testimony to the scholarship and critical insight of the translator. For this volume, the Theosophical Society deserves our best congratulations.

N. C. B.

The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni—By Muḥammad Nazim, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.) with a foreword by the late Sir Thomas Arnold. Demy 8vo pp. xv+271. Published by the Cambridge University Press.

This book by Dr. Nazim is divided into two parts. In the first part, we have a very carefully prepared list of the authorities whom the author has consulted, together with an account of the Muslim world in the fourth century (A. H.) leading to the accession of Sultan Mahmud. In the second part, we have an account of the wars of Sultan Mahmud, including his numerous invasions of India. In the third part, we have not only a description of the administrative system of the Sultan but also a large number of appendices (H to O) which gives us interesting details regarding the chronology of the predecessors of Subuktigin, the Samanides, the Hindu Shahiyas of Waihind and various other topics.

The work bears the stamp of a critical study and of patient industry. The author has not only consulted the works already familiar to us in translations and quotations, but has gone through a number of unpublished manuscripts. The information he gathers from these, adds to the value of the book, and his critical notes as well as the exhaustive

bibliography are bound to be of great service, not only to ordinary students but to future workers in the same field.

But while we admire the scholarship and industry of the learned author, we find in him a bias for his hero. Undoubtedly Mahmud was one of the greatest kings of the contemporary world. He was great as a fighter, great as a conqueror, who never retired beaten from the field and a great king who did much for the welfare of his subjects. But to regard him as having been entirely free from greed or intolerance would be unhistorical. He was what he really was—neither a ruthless destroyer of the type of Changis or Taimur, nor a fully tolerant ruler of our modern times. His wars in India did no good to the Islamic world except bringing some riches to Ghazni. Perhaps they shocked the Indian mind and retarded the spread of Islam. We offer our congratulations to the learned author.

N. C. B.

Ourselves

BIRTH-DAY HONOURS.

It is noteworthy that the University enjoyed the distinction of three of its members having received high birth-day honours, knighthood having been conferred upon Professor S. Radhakrishnan, M.A., D.Litt., and Dr. Abdulla-al-Mamun Suhrawardy, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Bar-at-Law, M.L.A. and Mr. Charuchandra Biswas, M.A., B.L., having been made a Companion of the Indian Empire. We sincerely offer our hearty congratulations to all of them.

A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Mohan Singh M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on the thesis submitted by him on "Characteristics and Tendencies of Modern Urdu Poetry."

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EXAMINATION DATES.

The following dates have been fixed for the Matriculation, I.A., I.Sc., B.A., and B.Sc., Examinations, 1932, and M.B. Examinations, November, 1931, and April, 1932.

NAME OF EXAMINATIONS	COMEMENCING DATES
Medical Examination (Nov. 1931)	12th November, 1931.
Intermediate Examinations in Arts and Science, 1932.	15th February, 1932.
Matriculation Examination, 1932	9th March, 1932.
B.A., and B.Sc., Honours Examinations, 1932.	21st March, 1932.
B.A., and B.Sc., Pass Examinations, 1932.	29th March, 1932.
Medical Examination (April, 1932)	15th April, 1932.

MATRICULATION EXAMINATION RESULTS, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the Matriculation Examination, 1931, was 17,975 of whom 78 were absent, 2 were disallowed and 94 were transferred to other centres. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 17,801 of whom 18 were expelled.

The number of candidates who passed the examination is 12,242 of whom 5,002 passed in the First Division, 5,523 in the Second Division and 1,674 in the Third Division. The number of candidates who passed in one subject only is 41 and the number of candidates who passed in two subjects is 2.

The percentage of passes is 68·7.

* * *

RESULT OF THE PRELIMINARY SCIENTIFIC M.B.
EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 191 of whom 142 passed, 48 failed, none were expelled and 1 was absent.

* * *

RESULT OF THE FIRST M.B. EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 137 of whom 85 passed, 45 failed, none expelled and 7 absent.

Of the successful candidates none obtained Honours.

Roll No. 117 has been recommended to the Syndicate for a pass.

* * *

RESULT OF THE SECOND M.B. EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 124 of whom 83 passed, 40 failed, none expelled and 1 absent.

* * *

RESULT OF THE THIRD M.B. EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1931.

The number of the candidates registered for the Examination was 159 of whom 130 passed, 29 failed, none expelled and none absent.

Of the successful candidates Roll Cal. 23 obtained Honours in Forensic Medicine.

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RESULT OF THE FINAL M.B. EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the Final M.B. Examination (under the New Regulations) was 235 of whom 91 passed, 142 failed, 2 absent and none were expelled.

Of the successful candidates Roll. Cal. No. 77 obtained Honours in Midwifery and Roll. Cal. 148 obtained Honours in Medicine and these two candidates are recommended for University Gold Medals in the respective subjects.

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RESULTS OF THE I.A. AND I.Sc. EXAMINATIONS, 1931.

I.A. Examination, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Arts, 1931, was 3,663 of whom 85 were absent, 1 was disallowed and 35 were transferred to other centres. The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 3,542 of whom 20 were expelled.

The number of candidates who passed the Examination is 1,713 of whom 482 passed in the First Division, 942 in the Second Division and 287 in the Third Division. The number of candidate who passed in one subject only is one and the number of candidate who passed in two subjects is one.

The percentage of passes is 48·4.

I.Sc. Examination, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Science, 1931, was 3,385 of whom 89 were absent, 4—results withheld by order of the Syndicate (Roll. Cal. 474, Cal. 1540, Cal. Non-collegiate 73, Dau. 14)—disallowed and 37 were transferred to other centres. The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 3,259 of whom 21 were expelled.

The number of candidates who passed the Examination is 1,742 of whom 610 passed in the First Division, 856 in the Second Division and 267 in the Third Division. The number of candidates who passed in one subject only is 8 and the number of candidate who passed in two subjects is 1.

The percentage of passes is 53·5.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

Journal of the Department of Letters. Vol. XXI, Royal 8vo. pp. 410.

A Mundari-English Dictionary, by Manindrabhusan Bhaduri, B.L., with an Introduction, by Rai Bahadur Saratchandra Ray, M.A., B.L., M.L.C. Demy 8vo., pp. 229 + xvi.

University Calendar for the year 1931. Demy 8vo. pp. 1140 + xv.

Pilgrimage of Faith (*Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures for 1927-28*), by Prof. D. C. Macintosh. Royal 8vo. pp. 300 + viii. Rs. 4.

Desinamamala, edited with Introduction and Index by Pandit Muralydhar Banerjee, M.A. Royal 8vo. pp. 336 + iv.

Selections from Classical Guzrati Literature, Vol. II (16th and 17th Centuries), edited by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo. pp. 684 + xvi. Rs. 7-8.

BOOKS IN THE PRESS IN JULY, 1931.

1. Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. I, by Dr. Hemchandra Ray, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
2. History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, by Prof. M. Winternitz, translated into English by Mrs. S. Ketkar.
3. Siddhanta-Sekhara, edited by Pandit Babua Misra, Jyotishacharyya.
4. Surya-Siddhanta, edited with Notes by Mr. Phanindralal Ganguli, M.A.. P.R.S.
5. Asoka, *Second Edition*, by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
6. Brahmanical Gods in Buddhist Burma, by Mr. Niharajan Ray, M.A., P.R.S.
7. Purva-Banga Gitika, Vol. IV, Part I, edited with Introduction and Notes by Rai Dineschandra Sen, Bahadur, B.A., D.Litt.
8. Adwaita-Brahma-Siddhi, Part II, edited by Mahamahopadhyay Gurucharan Tarka-Darshantirtha and Pandit Panchanan Tarkabagis.
9. Collected Geometrical Papers, Part II, by Prof Syamadas Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
10. Consolidated List of Graduates.
11. University Question Papers for the year 1929.
12. Manoel da Assampeaos Bengali Grammar, edited by Prof. S. K. Chatterji, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), and Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A.
13. Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. II, by Dr. Hemchandra Ray, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
14. Theory of Plane Curves, Part I, *Third Edition*, by Dr. S. M. Ganguli, D.Sc.
15. Some Bengal Villages and Economic Survey, by Messrs. Nirmalechandra Bhattacharyya, M.A., and L. A. Natesan, M.A.

16. *Eastern Bengal Ballads, Vol. IV, Part I, with Introduction and Notes*, by Rai D. C. Sen, Bahadur, B.A., D.Litt.
 17. *Lectures on the Mean Value Theorem of the Differential Calculus*, by Prof. Ganesh Prasad, D.Sc.
 18. *The Land Problem of India*, by Prof. Radhakamal Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D.
 19. *Political History of Ancient India, Third Edition*, by Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.
 20. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XXII.
 21. *Linguistic Speculation of the Hindus*, by Dr. Prabhat-chandra Chakrabarti, M.A., Ph.D.
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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

V. ECONOMICS, &c.

Wealth and Welfare of the Bengal Delta (*Thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Science in the University of London*), by S. G. Panandikar, M.A., Ph.D. pp. 372. 1926. Rs. 5.

The author has examined and analysed in detail the economic life of the Bengal Delta in all its aspects and has shown that its economic conditions are gradually tending to approximate more and more to those in the West. He has also suggested practical remedies for the defects in the economic organisation of the Delta. It is not only a valuable work to the student of economics, but is also expected to be of great help to the politician and the administrator.

Lectures on Indian Railway Economics, by S. C. Ghose, Lecturer, Calcutta University; late General Manager of the B.K., A.K., K.P., and B.D.R. Rys.; and also for sometime Special Officer with the Railway Board, Government of India, Railway Department.

Do. Part I. (*Second Edition, thoroughly revised.*)
Demy 8vo. pp. 132. 1927. Rs. 2-0.

Do. Part II. Demy 8vo. pp. 98. Rs. 3-0.

Do. Part III. Demy 8vo. pp. 166. Rs. 3-0.

A comprehensive idea of Railway economics, Railway rates, Railway finance and of all up-to-date Railway problems, such as State *vs.* Company management; grouping of railways, train and traffic control, coal traffic transportation, loco coal contracts and of railway transportation working in detail can be had from a study of these books. Part I deals with railway economics, finance and rates. Part II deals with all the transportation-subjects, starting from making of embankments and ending with traffic and train control and pooling of wagons, and Part III deals with the more intricate problems of management.

" These lectures are essentially practical, and students who pursue them carefully will, undoubtedly, gain considerable insight into the various problems confronting railway working in India....."—*Modern Transport*, June 9, 1923.

Organization of Railways, by the same author. Demy 8vo. pp. 32. 1927. Rs. 1-8.

In this book the author has discussed in great detail the systems of Railway Organisation in India and in other countries and has made valuable suggestions regarding the proper division of responsibility among all branches of the railway operating departments. It is an interesting treatise and is expected to help readers to understand properly the very complex problems of the Indian Railways

Protection for Indian Steel, by E. H. Solomon, B.A. (Cantab.); sometime Scholar of King's College, Cambridge; Professor of Political Economy, Presidency College, Calcutta, and Benares Hindu University. Royal 8vo. pp. 120. Rs. 5-0.

The problems dealt with in the book are:—Is protection necessary? Marginal *vs.* high protection, comparative costs of production. The conditions for Imperial preference. Methods and extent of protection. Bounties and import duties. Subsidiary industries and their treatment.

Present-Day Banking in India, by B. Ramachandra Rau, M.A., I.T. (*Second Edition*). Demy 8vo. pp. 318. 1925. Rs. 5-0. *Out of print. Third edition thoroughly revised and enlarged. (In the Press.)*

The book describes the existing banking system and offers valuable suggestions to bring about the much needed improvement in our credit situation. The present edition besides embodying the main conclusion of the earlier edition incorporates a large amount of fresh material.

Contents I. The Indian Money Market. II. The Imperial Bank of India. III. The Exchange Banks. IV. The Indian Joint-Stock Banks. V. The Indigenus Banker of India. VI. Industrial Banks. VII. Mortgage Banks. VIII. The Indian Post Office Savings Bank. IX. Co-operative Banks. X. The Need for Banking Reform. XI. Banking Reform.

"Mr. Rau's book is a scholarly survey of the Indian Banking system and is more welcome for the moderation with which its criticisms are expressed. The section dealing with banking reform is particularly suggestive. The book deals with more immediate issues than this; the work of the Imperial Bank of India, the high level of the deposit rate, the need for more intelligible balance sheets, the greater development of the cheque system and the concentration of the reserves are intimately discussed. Mr. Rau calls for legislation and his argument derives force from the unfortunate failure of the Alliance Bank of Simla case."—*The British Trade Review*, August, 1925.

Elementary Banking, by Ramachandra Rau, M.A., L.T.
Demy 8vo. pp. 209. 1925. Rs. 3.

This little book gives a clear idea of a Commercial Bank and its theory and estimates the economic importance of their operations, *viz.*, Bank deposits, Note-issue, Drafts, Discounts, Loans and Advances, Investments and Acceptances. It will be a very useful book for commercial students who desire to understand the work of a bank—how it obtains its capital, how that capital is employed, how profits arise and are distributed and how again a Commercial Bank fails.

Economics of Leather Industry, by the same author
Demy 8vo. pp. 194. 1926. Rs. 2-8.

In this book the author makes a careful economic survey of the existing sources of supply and deals with the economic importance of leather, causes of the decline of the indigenous leather industry, the export trade of raw hides and skins and the possibilities of successful leather industry in this country. The book contains valuable suggestions for the improvement of the raw material on which the economic life of various branches of leather industry depends.

".....The series of the articles ought to be read generally by all interested in the industries and commerce of India and particularly by those who are concerned with the leather industry and business."—*Modern Review*, April, May, June, 1925.

".....The author is to be congratulated upon producing a clear and complete exposition of the Indian trade and of India's raw materials, resources and the characteristics of them.....the information it furnishes will be interesting and valuable to the leather trade universally and the work forms an important addition to the trade's technical literature."—*The Leather Trades Review*, 10th February, 1926.

Inland Transport and Communication in Mediæval India,
by Bijoykumar Sarkar, A.B. (Harvard), Lecturer
in Economics, Calcutta University. Royal 8vo. pp. 91.
1925. Rs. 1-12.

The object of this book is to study the methods of inland transport and communication in mediæval India, roughly from the 11th to the 18th century A.D. In the preparation of this work, the chronicles of Mahomedan historians and the accounts of foreign travellers have been the author's principal sources of information.

W. H. Moreland :—"I have read Mr. Sarkar's book on Inland Transport with much interest, and I may say that, speaking generally, the method strikes me as sound, and the execution satisfactory."

Prof. J. Jolly, Ph.D., University of Wurzburg, Bavaria :—"Mr. B. K. Sarkar's work on Inland Transport and Communication in Mediæval India is no doubt a valuable production. Mr. Sarkar appears to have spared no pains to collect important materials from the most various sources. His book is very pleasant reading and presents a vivid picture of the means of Water and Land Transport during the middle ages. The index is very copious and gives a good idea of the varied contents of the work."

"Adequate and useful study of transportation. It is a useful service to gather the scattered references and organise the material in a systematic statement."—*American Economic Review*.

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Paper Currency in India, by B. B. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), B.Sc. (Econ.) (London), Reader, Lucknow University. Demy 8vo. pp. 332. 1927. Rs. 4-0.

The whole monetary organisation of India is at present being discussed and examined by the public as it never was before; and it is to be hoped that this book which deals exhaustively with our Paper Currency but incidentally also with many other phases of our monetary system, will be carefully read by many of the public and will enlighten and guide their judgment. The author has shown in his handling of his thesis, originality of thought and treatment and his work is based on careful and painstaking research. I have read with special interest, attention and instruction the last chapter dealing with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance. I only wish that many more critics of that Report possessed the scholarly erudition and the well-balanced judgment of our author.—*From the Foreword by Prof. Sir J. C. Coyajee, Kt., F.E.S.*

Dr. Dasgupta deserves the gratitude of all students of Indian Economics and those engaged in currency controversies for having, for the first time, singled out the whole theory and system of Indian paper currency for a clear analytic treatment, shorn of the many non-economic issues that rightly or wrongly have been allowed to cloud it.

The suggestions he makes are marked by a balanced and sound judgment and deserve careful consideration.—*Modern Review*, December, 1927.

VI. PHILOSOPHY

Studies of Vedantism (*Premchand Roychand Studentship, 1901*), by Krishnachandra Bhattacharyya, M.A. Demy 8vo. pp. 84. 1909. Rs. 3-12.

It is a treatise constructed on Vedantic lines and intended to bring out the relations of the Vedanta system to modern philosophical systems.

The Study of Patanjali (*Griffith Memorial Prize, 1915*), by S. N. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 216. 1920. Rs. 4-8.

Here we have an account of the Yoga system of thought as contained in the *Yoga Sūtras* of Patanjali, according to the interpretations of Vyasa, Vacaspati and Vijnana-bhikṣu, with occasional references to the views of other systems by an acknowledged authority on Hindu Philosophy.

Adwaitavad (Bengali), by Kokileswar Sastri, Vidyaratna, M.A. (*Second Edition, revised and enlarged.*) Royal 8vo. pp. 255. 1926. Rs. 3-8.

In the present work the author has given an admirable exposition of the Vedantic theory of Adwaitavāda in all its different aspects. The work consists of five chapters. In the first chapter, the nature of Nirgun Brahma and its relation to the world and the individual souls have been discussed and Sankara has been absolved from the charge of Pantheism. In Chapter II the nature of the individual Beings and Selves has been discussed. The fact that the Sankara school has not resolved the 'Individual' into qualities and states has been carefully examined. In Chapter III the author thoroughly discusses the doctrine of the 'Unreality of the Universe' and has attempted to prove that the Sankara School has not abolished the reality of the world. Chapter IV discusses the ethical theory, individual freedom, the Brahma-Sūkshātkāra, the 'contemplation of the Beautiful' and the final salvation in the transcendental goal. Here the relation between *Karma* and *Jnana* has been well brought out and bears the impress of originality. In Chapter V, an attempt has been made to trace the mātāvāda of the Sankara's school to the Rig Veda as its original source. Numerous authoritative texts have been quoted at foot-notes enhancing the value of the book. No student of Philosophy ought to be without a copy of this book.

Philosophical Currents of the Present Day, by L. Stein
(translated by Sisirkumar Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.).

Vol. I. Royal 8vo. pp. 250. 1918. Rs. 4-8.

Vol. II. Royal 8vo. pp. 162. 1919. Rs. 4-8.

Vol. III. Royal 8vo. pp. 237. 1925. Rs. 3-8.

The book is a translation of the well-known work of Ludwig Stein. It contains a description and critical examination of the philosophical movements of the present day. The contents of the three volumes are as follows:—

Vol. I—I. The Neo-Idealistic Movement. II. The Neo-Positivistic Movement (*the "Pragmatism" of William James*). III. The Recent Movement of Nature Philosophy (Wilhelm Ostwald's "Energetics"). IV. The Neo-Romantic Movement. V. The Neo-Vitalistic Movement.

Vol. II—VI. The Neo Realistic Movement (*the Transcendental Realism of Edward v. Hartmann and the Co-Relativitism of To-day*). VII. The Evolutionistic Movement (*Herbert Spencer and his Successors*). VIII. The Individualistic Movement. IX. The Mental Science Movement (William Dittsey). X. The History of Philosophy Movement (Edward Zeller, 1814-1908).

Vol. III—XI. The Problem of Knowledge. XII. The Problem of Religion. XIII. The Sociological Problem. XIV. The Problem of Toleration. XV. The Problem of Authority. XVI. The Problem of History.

Considering Prof. Stein's eminence as a Social Philosopher, the third volume may be looked upon as the most important of the three volumes. The famous Chapter on Authority is, according to the author, the keystone of his Philosophy. This volume contains a preface, especially written by the author for the English edition. An extract from the preface is given below:

"I am extremely grateful to my English translator for this, that he has made the first attempt to make my Philosophy accessible to the English-speaking world. * * * It is my bounden duty to express my heartiest thanks publicly to the translator of this work, because he had the courage to take up in the midst of the War, the work of a Swiss written in German."

*Prof. J. H. Muirhead, M.A., LL.D., University of Birmingham :—
 "The translation seems to me most readable and the printing all that
 could be desired. It has obviously been a labour of love to you to make the
 writings of this distinguished writer accessible to English and American
 readers."*

Hegelianism and Human Personality, by Hiralal Haldar,
 M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 67. 1910. Rs. 3-12.

The theory advanced in this book provides a philosophical foundation for the empirical fact of multiple personality. It also explains what the 'subliminal self' of man is. The real theory of Hegel has thus been interpreted in this publication. It really strikes out a fresh line of thought by which a new meaning has been attached to the usual British interpretation of Hegel.

Socrates (in Bengali : illustrated), Vol. I, by Rajanikanta Guha, M.A. Demy 8vo. pp. 584. 1922. Rs. 5-0.

The author, as a preliminary to the study of the life and thought of the great Greek philosopher, gives in this volume a detailed account of Greek life and culture instituting interesting comparison with the life of the Ancient Aryans in India. The author is one of the few Indians who has a familiarity with Greek authors in the original, and this work may be said to be the most authentic work in Bengali on ancient Greek civilisation.

Do. Vol. II. Demy 8vo. pp. 861. 1925. Rs. 8-0

This volume has been divided into three parts. Part I deals with the life and character of Socrates, Part II contains the details of judgment and death, and Part III contains the teachings of Socrates.

Introduction to Advaita Philosophy (English edition), by Kokileswar Sastri, Vidyaratna, M.A. (*Second Edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged.*) Demy 8vo. pp. 280 1926. Rs. 4-0.

The work is a brilliant exposition of the Sankara-School of the Vedanta Philosophy. The most striking feature of the work is the full consideration of various altogether new issues such as—(1) whether Sankara has denied the reality of the objects of the universe, (2) whether individuality has been resolved in his system of Philosophy into mere relations and actions and whether the Ego cannot be held to be an active power, (3)

whether Vedanta advocates inertia, emptying of the human mind rather than its expansion, (4) whether Sankara's Theory can be called Pantheism, (5) what is the relation between Being and Not-Being; and between Infinite and Finite, (6) what is the place of Ethics and Religion, (7) what is the correct view on Vedantic *Mukti*, and such other valuable topics. The work will prove an indispensable companion for the thorough and correct understanding of the great Maya-Vada in its various aspects. Copious authoritative quotations from Sankara's commentaries on the 10 Upanishads, Brahma-Sutra and Gita have been given in the footnotes enhancing the value of the work, which are an invaluable *mine of information*, on the subject. The author attempts also to clear up various misinterpretations and misrepresentations of the Sankara-Vedanta, giving a correct and right exposition.

The book has been highly praised by distinguished scholars like *Prof. A. Berriedale Keith*, *M. Winternitz*, *S. V. Ilesney*, *J. H. Muirhead*, *J. Jolly*, *E. W. Hopkins*, *Rudolph Otto*, *Hermann Jacobi*, *W. S. Irquhart*, *S. Radhakrishnan*, *James H. Woods*, *J. Wackernagel*, *W. Caland*, *Richard Schmidt*, *Otto Jespersen*, *Alfred Hillebrandt*, *Richard Garbe*, *Sir George A. Grierson*, *Dr. M. E. Senart*, *Dr. P. K. Roy*, *Dr. L. D. Barnett*, and others.

Extracts from the opinions of only a few are given:—

Professor A. Berriedale Keith, D.Litt., D.C.L., University of Edinburgh:—"..... Your book is a remarkably able and highly interesting contribution to the interpretation of Sankara. Its collection of passages alone would be of very high value, for the extent of Sankara's writings is so great as to render easy reference impossible without such aid, and I fully appreciate the labour which has been involved in the selection of the texts cited. Even greater value applies to your powerful exposition of the realistic element in Sankara. Your restatement of his position in terms of modern philosophical conception, shows a very great skill and will demand the most careful consideration from those who seek to apprehend the true force of the teachings of the Acharyya."

Professor Julius Jolly, Ph.D., University of Wurzburg, Bavaria:—"This work contains an excellent exposition, I think, of the main principles of the Advaita system and an equally excellent vindication of this against the reproaches raised by scholars wrongly interpreting its technical terms."

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Dr. L. D. Barnett, Oriental Studies, London Institution (University of London):—".....Your book is a work of considerable merit."

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Professor Hermann Jacobi, Ph.D., University of Bonn, Germany :—".....I have read this novel exposition of Sankara's system with interest and profit, whether one entirely agrees with the author's theory or not, one will admire his ingenuity and be grateful for many valuable suggestions..... It is an admirable book....."

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Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, July, 1926 :—"The author is to be congratulated on having produced a very well-written and remarkably clear and able book dealing with a very thorny and difficult subject—the non-dualistic philosophy of the great Vedantist—Sankara. Mr. Sastri has collected a large number of passages of great value and importance from the writings of Sankara and has expounded them with marked ability. His treatment of Sankara's philosophical position is done with great skill....."

The Magazine—Shia-kyo-ken-Vyn (Religious Research), Vol. III, Part 6, 1st November, 1926, of Tokyo University, Japan :—"It seems that the author is an authority on the Vedanta system of Philosophy in the Calcutta University of India. He has studied and mastered thoroughly the vast knowledge of the Sankara Philosophy.....The last two chapters are very interesting and give new light on the subject....." (Original in Japanese).

The Forward, October 3, 1926 :—"Prof. Sastri's 'Advaita Philosophy' no longer requires any advertisement through the press. The book has already made its mark as one of the richest contributions to modern research on the 'Advaita Philosophy'.....In Prof. Sastri that philosophy has got a very lucid exponent.....as a piece of original research the book has received unqualified admiration from Indian as well as European scholars."

Ethics of the Hindus, by Susil Kumar Maitra, M.A.,
Lecturer in Philosophy, Calcutta University. Royal
8vo. pp. 370. 1925. Rs. 4-8.

In this book the author has tried to give a philosophical exposition of Hindu Ethical ideas. What he has attempted is an analytical exposition of Hindu Ethics as distinguished from the historical. One of the excellent features of the book is the comparisons between Indian and European Philosophers which the author has introduced in explaining concepts and ideas which are peculiar to the Hindus.

Prof. J. H. Murhead, M.A., Ph.D., University of California (late of Birmingham): "I may say however how much I value the attempts of your book and others which have recently come under my scrutiny, notably Professor Radhakrishnan's histories, to make the Philosophies of India more accessible to English readers both in Great Britain and in America. We find, I think, great difficulty not only in the language but on account of the great multitude of thinkers and views and any efforts to reduce these to simplicity and make the study of them more attractive seem to me a real contribution to a better understanding between East and West. So far from agreeing with the critics you mention in your Preface that comparisons should be avoided, I think that the comparisons you introduce between Indian and European philosophers an excellent feature of your book..... As more specific studies of aspects of philosophy yours seem to me to come well after more general ones like Professor Radhakrishnan's, and as more specific still of particular ethical tendencies or doctrines, will, I am sure, be welcomed."

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Prof. E. W. Hopkins, of Yale University:—".....The subject is treated in a new light with great thoroughness and marked ability and is a very valuable addition to our knowledge of ethical authority and the bases recognised by the different schools of thought."

Prof. A. Berriedale Keith, of Edinburgh University:—"The work, I am glad to say, has substantial merits. It contains clear proof of wide reading, and of careful examination of the philosophical doctrines of the great systems of Indian Philosophy. Much of the material, if not precisely new, is presented under fresh aspects, and the book will be a valuable aid to those engaged in studying Indian Philosophy, both by reason of the positive value of the results and on account of the fruitful dissent which some of the opinions expressed will certainly evoke."

Journal of Philosophical Studies, January, 1928 :—We can congratulate the author upon the scholarly and comprehensive way in which he presents the systems of Hindu ethics and shows their very solid foundation.

Mr. Maitra takes us over the main points of the psycho-ethical analysis of Self, as propounded in the familiar systems of Indian philosophy (Sankhya, Yoga, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya). This he does, not according to their historical sequence, but from a general human point of view regarding them all as manifestations of a uniform mentality. The value of this treatment cannot be overstated, for it leads us back to common principles as well as to self-analysis, two factors which are easily neglected by the student of religion and ethics. To derive a phenomenon from its antecedent does neither explain nor justify it completely, or as the author says, "Continuity is not identity."

The book presents a complete analysis of volition, conscience, purpose, virtue, and of the ethico-spiritual ideal (in its typical Hindu aspect of *moksha* or emancipation) finishing with a thorough review of the moral standards in Hindu ethics. As the author quotes very extensively from authoritative Sanskrit sources, it is impossible to understand the discussion without a knowledge of Sanskrit, be it only in order to check the English translation of philosophical terms, in which the author has been quite successful.

The book will be welcomed by all students of Indian philosophy.

Vedantapariibhasha, edited by Mahamahopadhyay Anantakrishna Sastri, Lecturer in Vedānta and Mīmāṃsā, Calcutta University, with a Foreword by Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, M.A., King George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Calcutta University. Demy 8vo. pp. 398, 1927. First edition exhausted within 3 months after publication. *A Second and Enlarged Edition is in the Press.* Rs. 6.

The work is a systematic exposition and defence of the Advaita theory of knowledge by Dharmaraja (17th century A.D.). It has eight chapters in which important problems of Advaita philosophy, such as the nature of the *pramāṇas*, grades of reality or to be more accurate, unreality, the relation of Brahman, *Iśvara* and *Jīva*, the nature and status of the world, the relation of *māyā* and *avidyā*, salvation and the way to attain it, have been discussed with great care and cleverness. The present edition contains the text as well as an excellent commentary (*Pariibhasha Prakasika*) by Mahamahopadhyay Pandit A. K. Sastri, who has attempted to interpret the *Pariibhasha* in a most lucid way with pertinent illustrations and has critically discussed the views of the different schools of Advaitabāda. The book will prove of immense value to Tols and Colleges where Vedānta Philosophy is studied.

VII. LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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***Elementary Sanskrit Grammar with Dhatukosha.** (English edition.) 8vo. pp. 255. Rs. 2-0.

***Sanskrit Vyakaran** (Elementary Sanskrit Grammar, Bengali Edn.). *Revised by* Muralydhar Banerjee, M.A., and Prabhatchandra Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D. D/C 16mo. pp. 312. Rs. 2-0.

***Balavataro or an Elementary Pali Grammar.** Demy 8vo. pp. 168. Re. 1-0.

A Grammar of the Tibetan Language, by H. Bruce Hannah, Bar.-at-Law. Royal 8vo. pp. 416. Rs. 11-4.

English-Tibetan Dictionary, by Lama Dawsamdub Kazi. Royal 8vo. pp. 1003. Rs. 15-0.

Higher Persian Grammar, by Lt.-Col. D. C. Phillott, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B. Royal 8vo. pp. 949. Neatly printed and nicely bound. Rs. 14-0.

Perhaps the largest and most compendious grammar of Persian in existence. It is written by one who is a recognised authority on Persian. It is intended mainly as a book of reference and for this purpose is printed with a copious index. It is specially suitable for those students who have learnt, or are now studying Persian in India. This book also illustrates many of the differences that exist between the Persian of Afghanistan and of Persia, not only in pronunciation and diction but also in construction. The notes on composition and rhetoric will prove specially interesting to Indian students, many of whom have to study Persian through the medium of English and it is for their benefit that these subjects have been treated from an English point of view.

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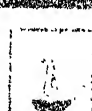
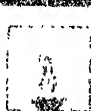
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 157. Grammar and its Critics.
 158. Popular Elements in the Purāṇas.
 159. Two Savants.
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1931

CONTENTS

	Page.
Parasnath the Sacred Mountain—J. Travis Jenkins, D.Sc., Ph.D.	147
A Chapter in the Personal History of Raja Rammohan Roy — Brajendra Nath Banerji	156
Andhra University Convocation Address—A. Krishnaswamy Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Advocate General, Madras ...	180
History of the British East India Company's Trade in Bengal in the time of Allivardi (1740-1756)—Kali- kinkar Datta, M.A.	199
A Page from the Past—Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, Kt., C.I.E., C.B.E., M.A., LL.D., M.L.C.	226
Duty and Love (<i>Poem</i>)—Mohini Mohan Chatterji, M.A., B.L.	241
A Note on Employment—P. P. P.	242
To Rabindranath Tagore (<i>Poem</i>)—Cyril Modak ...	249
Jayanta Bhaṭṭa—The Author of the Nyāya Mañjarī— Satkari Mookerji, M.A.	251
The Poet—Cyril Modak	278

REVIEWS :

Indian Industry—B. Ramchandra Rau	...	...	284
Breaking down the Tariff Walls—B. Ramchandra Rau	...	...	288
Atalanta in Calydon—P. R. Sen	...	...	291

OURSELVES :

A New Readership Lecture	...	...	293
Jubilee Research Prizes in Arts and Science for 1933	...	...	293
Dates of the Next D. P. H. Examinations	...	...	293
Public Service Commission ...	...	...	293

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1931

PARASNATH THE SACRED MOUNTAIN

Towering up above its diminutive neighbours to a height of over 4,000 feet, the sacred mountain of the Sonthals and Jains stands solitary in the plains of Bengal. Geologically the mountain consists of a huge diorite dyke which has resisted the erosion that levelled the surrounding country, so that it stands aloof and impressive, looking across the Gangetic valley to the towering Himalayas, 180 miles distant.

With the Himalayas it must at one time have been more closely connected since its fauna and flora still exhibit some Himalayan traces although by far the greater majority of the animals and plants are those of the surrounding plains of Bihar. This Himalayan resemblance was remarked by Dr. Hooker in 1848 and confirmed by us on our visit. In particular we discovered a lizard on the mountain which is only known elsewhere in the Eastern Himalayas and a new species of fish was found (*Glyptosternum saisii*) which has a near relative in Himalayan mountain streams. This fish was named after Dr. Saise who visited the mountain for many years and to whom we are indebted for much information regarding the mountain and its inhabitants.

A night's journey from Calcutta brings us in the cool of the early morning to the railway station at Giridih, the headquarters of the East Indian Railway Collieries, from which an eighteen-mile drive takes us to the village of Madhuban, at the foot of the northern slope of the hill. The pungent smoke of the cowdung fires of the villagers lazily ascends through the air and forms a pale blue haze, through which objects on the distant horizon are only dimly visible. At first the drive takes us through one of the most flourishing colliery districts in India and it is with something of a shock that we come suddenly upon a typical pithead structure which might have been imported intact from Lancashire, so striking is the resemblance. The wayside passengers are a sturdy smiling lot; they move with the easy, swinging gait of the hill folk, for the Sonthals, the original inhabitants and owners of the mountain, have taken kindly to colliery work, and with training make excellent coal cutters.

The collieries soon drop behind out of the sight and we bowl along merrily to the ford of the Barakar river. There has been heavy rain within the last few days, and what was on a previous visit a dry sand bed is now a foaming rapid of turbulent, chocolate-coloured water a few feet deep. The *sais* or groom dismounts and leads our steed, and, accompanied by a shouting, pushing crowd of light-hearted coolies, we successfully negotiate the passage.

The mud-constructed huts of the villagers of the plains now give way to the bamboo and leaf buildings of the Sonthal. To the right and left the ryots are busy preparing their land for the approaching monsoon, ploughing and repairing embankments, and occasionally a young savage, naked but for his loin cloth, is seen in charge of a herd of domestic humped cattle.

In a forest clearing at the foot of the hill stands a group of Jain temples, whose snow-white domes, with their background of dark green foliage, afford an impressive sight.

The Jains have given to the hill the name of their great Jina (sage or teacher) Parswa, probably an authentic person who flourished some seven centuries before Christ. Parasnath literally means Lord Parswa. The Sonthals call the mountain Marang Buru, the great mountain. The chief of the Bongas (spirits) whom they worship also has the same name and the fact that the mountain and their chief spirit or God has the same name makes the mountain sacred to the Sonthals as well as the Jains. The Indian habit of deifying objects of nature, and giving habitations to spirits in mountains, trees and stones is here exemplified.

Two communities, one—the Jains—wealthy and educated, the other—the Sonthals—poor and illiterate, both revere this mountain and both claim to be the owners of it. There is no doubt that Parasnath has been sacred to the Sonthals from time immemorial whereas the Jains only got it from Akbar, about the time Queen Elizabeth reigned over England. The Jains are a wealthy and important body, although numbering only about one and a quarter million, spread all over India.

Many centuries ago (about 700 B.C.) they arose as a sect dissenting from Brahman Hinduism (as did the Buddhists). The chief point of difference was on the question of sacrificing animals on the altars of the Gods. The Jains deem all life as sacred. To kill even accidentally is wrong. They do not eat after sundown as in the dark they might swallow a stray insect. The women when they comb their long hair, place the captives on the ground to crawl away. This tender regard for all life is the most characteristic feature of the Jains.

Parasnath being sacred to the Jains is an object of pilgrimage to members of the community, who come to the mountain from all parts of India. In addition to the temples at the foot of the hills, all the peaks of the mountain are crowned with lovely marble shrines. The ridges connecting the peaks are dotted here and there with small shrines, which are also encountered in various secluded spots.

There are 25 shrines, and with a solitary exception, each contains the embossed outlines of the feet of Jinas who form the object of Jain reverence and worship. The solitary exception has the feet outside and on the left side of the shrine. In the front of the feet are Nagri inscriptions. The words Nath (Lord), pad (foot), and Kaka (slave) are legible. The dates of dedication vary from Sambat 1725 (A.D. 1667) to Sambat 1931 (A.D. 1893) so they are modern.

In India the expression "gor lage" or "panw lage" meaning "I touch your feet" precedes almost every appeal for assistance or justice and is a sign of submission and reverence. Hence the feet of the Jinas are presented in the marble shrines to receive the homage of the pilgrim worshippers.

At the village of Madhuban at the foot of the hill in the shade of a giant banyan tree our Sonthal bearers are waiting, and by *palki* (a hammock of netting slung on a bamboo pole) we make the ascent.

At this village, where pilgrims from all parts of India assemble, there are temples and caravanserais, so that religious duties may be performed and rest and food obtained. The pilgrims have to climb the hill, visit each shrine, make their obeisance at the feet of the Jinas, strew rice, burn incense and worship at the temple on the hill top, where all the Jinas are on view as blue, or golden or other coloured statues. The whole tour of the mountain has to be accomplished without the pilgrim partaking of any food or attending to any of nature's calls. As it is a long and steep climb the path has been made easy in places by a stairway and aged and infirm persons are carried up in *doolies*. The complete journey is about 22 miles. Surely the pilgrim deserves all the merit that may accrue from such an arduous journey.

The Jains, who have no priesthood, have placed Brahmins in charge of the temple and the shrines to keep them clean. Monkeys feast on the rice, but no European, foreigner, Mahomedan or Hindoo of low caste can enter the temples. They are

lumped together in a public notice on a stone pillar put up near the dak (rest) bungalow near the top of the mountain.

Notice.

Europeans, foreigners, Mahommedans and Hindoos of low caste are hereby strictly prohibited from entering the large and 25 smaller temples of the Jain Setamburyies which are situated on Parasnath Hill. Whoever infringes the above order will be prosecuted under Chapter 15 of the Indian Penal Code according to the contents of a letter No. 719 dated February 7th, 1865, from the Lieut. Governor of Bengal to the Commissioners of Chota Nagpore.

By order of the Jain Sitambury.

BABOO HURRUCH CHUND GOLICHA,

Dated 25th, March, 1870.

Manager.

A good broad path extends from Madhuban to the summit of the mountain. The first part of the ascent is steep and the track zig-zags to and fro through groves of trees, which afford a welcome relief from the sun's rays. In a clearing by the way is one of the diminutive Jain shrines, a whitewashed dog-kennel-like structure. Beyond the first ridge lies a small valley, and for a time we descend through a tea garden to the half-way house, a plain, barn-like building erected for the pilgrims by the Jain community.

Here the real ascent commences, and for a couple of hours we toil painfully upwards to the rest bungalow, a few hundred feet below the summit. This building was formerly a convalescent home for British soldiers, but this object has for over half a century been abandoned. Europeans living in the plains of Bihar find residence in this bungalow a welcome change during the hot weather in April and May. The temperature here varies from 15°F to 9°F less than in the plains below.

The main peak of the mountain is crowned by a Jain temple, the shrine of the Lord Parasnath. It is a solid masonry structure enclosing the dark-coloured feet of the 24 Jinas. The two last Jinas—Parswa and Mahavira—appear to have been historical personages, the rest are probably mythical. The first of the Jinas is reported to have lived nearly $8\frac{1}{2}$ million years, which beats Methuselah's record. Mahavira was a contemporary of Buddha. From the rest bungalow, which is situated immediately below the summit, there is a very fine view. In the early morning the whole world appears to consist of a billowy sea of clouds. Sunset also has its charm. Away to the north the silvery thread of the Barakar river meanders through a dark green country dotted with wooded hills, while to the west, where the descent is sheer, the details of the countryside can be readily distinguished. Here the Damodar river winds through the fertile plain whose numerous tanks glisten like silver in the rays of the setting sun. A purplish haze settles down like a pall and gradually obscures everything.

The animal life around is full of interest. Of big game very little remains. Bears are still not uncommon on the more inaccessible slopes but the leopards which formerly prowled around the bungalow have long since disappeared, and nothing more formidable than the common striped Indian squirrel is to be seen, and this pretty little creature has so little fear of man that it may almost be said to be domesticated. Lizards are commonly seen basking on the sun-baked rocks or lurking in the jungle underneath. The most prevalent species is the common Indian lizard. The male is distinguished by his brilliant colours—red, yellow and black—by his handsome crest and stately stride. He stalks along in a dignified manner, only pausing to bestow a ducal nod on a neighbouring female. Another species, a true mountaineer, is less handsome. Common evening sounds are the cry of the barking deer and the song of the nightingale or some similarly sweet songster. By day the shrill noise of the cicadas awakens the echo of the nullahs, a

vibration which may not inaptly be compared to that of a mowing machine. The curious brown insects with membranous wings are very elusive. Even though we stand under a tree in which the loud stridulating noise is going on it is extremely difficult to locate an individual, much less to capture one. The noise production is a monopoly of the male and Xenarchus long since wrote :—

“Happy the Cicadas’ lives, for they all have voiceless wives.” Dr. Hooker’s observations in 1848 as to the scarcity of insect life are scarcely corroborated by our experience. Gorgeous dark purple butterflies, with a smaller yellow variety, enormous yellow and black wasps, curious stick and leaf insects, together with bugs and beetles, abound in every sunny nook.

Although the Jain community have gradually endeavoured to establish their claim to the sacred mountain, the Sonthals, to whom the mountain is also sacred, were undoubtedly the original inhabitants. They are even now a wild and uncouth race, unspoilt by civilisation.

The naturalist could wish for no better companions, as centuries of struggle with nature have impressed upon the minds of the Sonthals the good and bad qualities of the local fauna and flora in an ineradicable fashion.

The great annual event in the life of the Sonthals is the *Lo bir sendra*, or hunt of the burnt forest, and Parasnath is a forest for this purpose. The jungle is set on fire and as the animals, birds and reptiles fly before the flames, they are slain.

A great feast is thus provided and after the meal is eaten the hunters constitute themselves into a court of appeal for the community. All outstanding disputes and quarrels and appeals from the village authorities are heard and settled. The court then adjourns to the next year’s hunt.

The male Sonthal may be recognised by the three rounded scars on his right forearm. They are made by his parents in infancy by the simple process of dipping three pieces of cotton-wool into the oil and igniting them on the bare fore-arm. By

means of these scars, their God, the great Marang Buru is able after death, and when they are swimming across the river which divides this world from the next, to recognise them and pass them on to their eternal home. I noticed that the women were not marked in this fashion and in response to my queries ascertained that Woman does not enter into the Sonthal's idea of Heaven. Cremation is a universal practice, but the Adam's apple is preserved and carried to the sacred river, the Damodar. As a race the Sonthals are singularly free from admixture of foreign blood, this is because their women are racially pure. No love is lost between them and the Hindoos. They are practically the only people in India who will not accept food at the hands of the Brahmins, and in this way they testify their contempt for their conqueror. In other respects they are not fastidious in dietary matters and consequently in times of famine they flourish while the people around them starve. The sacred mountain is thus claimed by two parties, the one opposed to the destruction of life, the other enjoying a hunt, with much killing, followed by a feast.

The Jains claim the mountain under a Sanad (charter) from the Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) so they are newcomers compared with the Sonthals who have lived there from time immemorial. It would be a great pity if the Jains ever succeed in excluding the Sonthals from this happy hunting ground of their ancestors. Anent the Jain claim to exclusive rights in the hill a curious story is told. Many years ago a prominent Anglo-Indian resident obtained a lease of a portion of the mountain and commenced tea cultivation. This, however, proving unsuccessful was abandoned, and pig-rearing was tried with a view of supplying the Calcutta market with lard. Now, since the sanctity of animal life is a fundamental doctrine of the Jain creed, the slaughter of pigs (above all animals) almost within sight and hearing of their principal temple was an outrage not to be tolerated. In fact it has been suggested that the original idea of the piggery was to compel the Jains to buy up the remainder

of the lease of the tea estate. Instead they went to law. After protracted litigation the decision was adverse to the Jains. Now, mark the sequel. One of the prominent members of the tea-cum-piggery company went home to England, and was shortly afterwards found dead in suspicious circumstances on one of the English southern railways, and there are not wanting those who attribute the fatality to Jain emissaries.

PARASNATH MOUNTAIN.

Note on the Nagari inscription.

This inscription is in honour of the sandals (paduka) of Ara-natha the 18th Jina (Parswa-natha being the 23rd).

The reading is :—

San 1725 varsa-ni-gōtriya sākhu	magha sudi 3, guraṇ, Birā sāla
nāthā padukā kā-	condēla sū Ara-rāpitā puna sū
	na galē

Rough translation :—

The sandal of the Sri Ara-natha was caused to be made by the Candela of the Sirani Gotra, on Thursday, the 3rd of the light half of Magha of San 1725, i.e., about the time of the English revolution of 1688.

J. TRAVIS JENKINS

A CHAPTER IN THE PERSONAL HISTORY OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

WAS HE PERSECUTED IN LAWCOURTS FOR HIS RELIGIOUS VIEWS?

(*Mainly based on State Records.*)

In all the current biographies of Rammohun we read that his attempts at religious reform brought down upon his head a number of vexatious lawsuits instigated by the leaders of the orthodox Hindus out of vindictiveness. That Rammohun himself gave currency to such a view we know on the authority of Dr. Carpenter, who writes :—

“Rammohun Roy recently stated that every effort had been made for the purpose, and that he had had, at an enormous expense, to defend himself against a series of legal proceedings instituted for the purpose of depriving him of caste, and thereby of his patrimonial inheritance. Through his profound acquaintance, however, with the Hindu law, he baffled the efforts of his interested enemies, and proved in the Courts of Justice that he had not forfeited his rights.”¹

We also find Mr. Adam stating the same thing in a lecture delivered in Boston some time after Rammohun's death :—

“When the death of Rammohun Roy's elder brother made him the head of the family, she [his mother] instituted suits against her son both in the King's and Company's Courts, with a view to disinherit him as an apostate and infidel, which, according to strict Hindu law, excludes from the present and disqualifies for the future possession of any ancestral property, and even according to many authorities, of any property, that is self-acquired. She was defeated in this attempt.”²

¹ Mary Carpenter : *The Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy* (2nd ed.), p. 9.

² W. Adam : *A Lecture on the Life and Labours of Rammohun Roy* (Ed. by Rakhal-Das Halder, Calcutta, 1873), pp. 6-7. See also Miss Collet : *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy* (2nd ed.), p. 18.

Mr. Adam, too, must have got his information from Rammohun himself. The truth about the intricate and almost endless series of lawsuits in which he was engaged during his residence in Calcutta is therefore worth investigation by his biographer. A good deal of information about the cases against him is to be found in contemporary documents preserved among the State records. They prove that these lawsuits, so far from having been initiated out of religious motives, sprang from purely personal, family and pecuniary grounds. It is not clear how they had anything to do with Rammohun's religious views. For convenience of treatment we shall take up the cases one by one and reconstruct their intricate history separately from the information available in the extant records, most of which are unpublished, only a few having been printed in the monthly magazines.

Govindaprasad Roy sues his uncle Rammohun.

We shall first examine the suit which Mr. Adam describes as instituted by Rammohun Roy's mother with the object of depriving him of his patrimony on the grounds of apostacy and infidelity, when he became the head of the family after the death of his elder brother, Jugmohun Roy.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, no suit against Rammohun was ever instituted by his mother. Mr. Adam is here giving, evidently from faded recollection, a wrong description of the suits and counter-suits in which both Rammohun and his nephew Govindaprasad Roy, became involved as a result of the complicated character of the proprietary rights in the Roy family.

After finally taking up his residence in Calcutta (1815), Rammohun appears to have lodged a suit in the lawcourts laying claim to a part or the whole of the property left by his elder brother, Jugmohun Roy, and actually in the possession of

the latter's son. The following instructions issued by the Board of Revenue to the Midnapur Collector on 27th January, 1818, on the subject of realizing from Govindaprasad the arrears of revenue which had been left unpaid by his father, Jugmohun Roy, at his death in 1811, support this conclusion :—

“ As it would appear that the property left by Jugmohun is at present contested in the Courts of Justice, the Board do not conceive that any coercive measures should be adopted to enforce the payment...They have accordingly been pleased to authorize the petitioner [Govindaprasad] to pay the balance in ten years by instalments.”¹

Until we can obtain access to the full proceedings of these lawsuits—which I have not yet been able to do—it is useless to speculate as to the nature of Rammohun's rights to the property then being enjoyed by his nephew and the grounds on which he laid claim to them, as well as to the line of defence taken by Govindaprasad Roy. One thing, however, seems to be certain, namely, that these suits had nothing to do with the alleged reasons given in the current biographies of Rammohun.

The ‘Continuator’ of Miss Collet is responsible for giving currency to the story that it was Govindaprasad who actually brought a case against his uncle—Rammohun “ in order to disinherit him from any participation in their ancestral property, on the score of his being an apostate from the Hindu religion.”² How this suit originated is thus described by him : “ Defeated in theological debate, his opponents renewed their attack upon him in the lawcourts. *Shortly after this debate* [held by Rammohun] in December, 1819 with a learned Madrassi Pandit, called Subrahmanya Sastri,” Govindaprasad brought the case against his uncle.

But such a story will not bear scrutiny for two important reasons. In the first place, the suit, so far from being the

¹ *Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, 27 Jany., 1818, No. 34.

² Miss Collet (2nd ed.), p. 39.

outcome of the theological debate of December 1819, started and ended before that debate, and, secondly, the initiative in it was taken not by Govindaprasad Roy but by Rammohun. As we have already seen, the case is referred to in the Board of Revenue records in January 1818. This, coupled with the fact that the proceedings lasted for over two years, proves that the case must have been started in the lawcourts not "shortly after December 1819," but as early as 1817, or even earlier. And we shall presently see that the whole quarrel between the nephew and the uncle ended in a reconciliation towards the close of the year 1819.

The Board of Revenue letter quoted above also proves that Govindaprasad was at the time in possession of the property and that it was Rammohun who was contesting his rights. The suit could not, therefore, have originated with Govindaprasad. It seems probable, however, that in defence of his rights, he was ultimately forced to institute counter-suits against his uncle in the Supreme Court. This expensive litigation ruined the impecunious Govindaprasad, who had no chance of success in the lawcourts against his rich and influential uncle. And it appears that he had finally to withdraw the case against Rammohun and ask for his forgiveness. The following translation of a Bengali letter which he addressed to his uncle on 29th October 1819 (14 Kartic, .226 B. S.) bears out this view :—

"At the instigation of other people I lodged a false suit in the Equity Division of the Supreme Court, claiming from you an account of the property. I now realize that owing to my mistake in embarking on this affair I am suffering a good many troubles and also causing you mental worry and expenditure. You are in the place of my father : therefore, if you will forgive my offences and permit me to approach you, I shall explain all the particulars to you in person."¹

¹ Nagendranath Chatterji's Bengali biography of Rammohun Roy (3rd ed.), p. 213.

This diplomatic surrender of the nephew ended the family feud and Rammohun, now victorious in the suit, took compassion on his nephew and secured for him the post of the Abkari Daroghah of Bardwan (1822)¹ by influencing Mr. Digby, then Acting Collector of Bardwan. The following passage in a letter of Mr. Digby deals with the story of Govindaprasad :—

“ Govindaprasad Roy his cousin...ruined himself by an unsuccessful lawsuit in the Supreme Court which he had carried on during my absence in Europe against his uncle Rammohun Roy ; the latter, after my return, from compassion for his nephew's distress, was induced to request me to give him a situation to keep him from starving.”²

The Case of Ramjay vs. Rammohun.

There is a tradition, recorded by Miss Collet and others, that :

“Owing to his mother's hostility...he [Rammohun] took up his quarters on a large burning-ground at the village of Raghunathpur not far off, and there he built a house for himself. It must have been during this period that one of his hostile neighbours, named Ramjay Batabyal, an inhabitant of the village of Ramnagar near Krishnagar, resorted to a curious mode of persecution. He collected a number of men who used to go to Rammohun's house early in the nightfall to throw cow-bones into the house. These proceedings greatly annoyed and disturbed

¹ “ I...solicit you to inform the Board of my having nominated to the situation Govindaprasad Roy who has been given to understand that if through his exertions the revenue of Abkari should be considerably increased during the present year he shall be entitled to confirmation in his office. Dwarkanath Tagore who is possessed of considerable landed property has offered himself as his security during the period of his officiating as Tahsildar of the Abkari Department.”—Digby to the Board, dated 16th Nov., 1822. *B. R. Con.*, 3rd Dec., 1822, No. 17.

² J. Digby to the Board of Revenue, dated 22nd September, 1824.—*Board of Revenue Con.*, 19 Oct., 1824. No. 12a.

Rammohun's womonkind, but he himself took it with perfect coolness, and made no retort whatever, which enraged his persecutors all the more. At last, however, finding him hopelessly impervious, they wearied of their attacks and desisted therefrom."¹

The truth of this story was challenged by the late Mr. Umesh Chandra Batabyal, who contended that Ramjay Batabyal, far from being the persecutor of Rammohun, was himself persecuted by the latter; and he quoted, in support of his contention, the following passages from the Bengali *faisala* (detailed statement) of a case which Ramjay had brought against Rammohun in the Judge's Court at Hooghly some time in 1815-16 :

"No. 241. Qanun 49. Before Mr. Oakly, Judge, Hooghly. 15th April 1818. Plaintiff—Ramjay Batabyal. Defendant—Rammohun Roy.

"The petitioner begs to state as follows :—In 1221 B.S. Rammohun Roy, the Defendant, purchased the Putni Taluk of the aforesaid lot, and actuated by factious opposition and enmity (the said) Rammohun Roy Talukdar and his *naib* Jagannath Majumdar, accompanied by more than 100 *lathials*, on 20th Agrahayana, 1222 B.S. [4 Dec. 1815] dispossessed the plaintiff from 70½ bighas of land by reaping the paddy crop on land measuring 51 B. 15 C. 10 Ch. out of 79-2-4 chhataks of the Ramnagar village and 175 mango and other trees in gardens measuring 10 bighas 1 cottah in mauza Binnak, and 8 bighas 10 cottahs and 4 chhataks in mauza Dainam, and looted the paddy. This suit is for a claim of Rs. 2,092 only for the said cause of action."²

We also learn on the authority of Mr. Batabyal that the suit was decreed against Rammohun both in the Hooghly Judge's Court and in the Sadar Diwani Adalat.

Mr. Batabyal leads us to believe that the formation of a faction hostile to Rammohun was not the outcome of the latter's

¹ Miss Collet, 2nd ed., p. 19.

² *Sahitya*, Agrahayana, 1301 B.S.

stand against idolatry. The real cause of the estrangement between the Batabyal and Roy families could, in Mr. Umesh Chandra Batabyal's youth, be still learnt from the village elders who remembered the village quarrels of their boyhood in which Rammohun was involved. Mr. Batabyal explains that the friction between the Batabyal and Roy families arose in the following way :—Rammohun's father, Ramkanta Roy, was a debtor to the Bardwan Raj chiefly on account of arrears of revenue for some lands he had taken in farm from that Raja. Ramjay, then a servant of the Raja, on being ordered to collect these arrears from Ramkanta, dunned the defaulter and finally got him removed from the farm, with the result of making the Roy family his enemies.

Mr. Batabyal has not quoted the judgment delivered in this case by either Court, and we are therefore not in a position to know the nature of the decree obtained by Ramjay against Rammohun, though his statement, as far as Ramkanta is concerned, appears in the main to be true. It is well known—and Pandit Mahendranath Vidyanidhi admits it—that Rammohun's *naib*—Jagannath Majumdar, whose name also figures in the suit, was of a turbulent nature, and he was an object of fear and respect to Rammohun. Jagannath had been serving from Ramkanta's time and exercised great influence over the zamindari affairs of the Roy family.

*Case of Raja Tejchand vs. Rammohun Roy and
Govindaprasad Roy.*

On 16th June 1823 Raja Tejchand of Bardwan brought an action in the Calcutta Provincial Court of Appeal against Rammohun Roy and his nephew Govindaprasad Roy, “as heirs to Ramkanta Roy, deceased.” The plaintiff stated :

“That Ramkanta Roy, of Radhanagar, father and grandfather of the defendants, had taken in farm a large portion of a zamindari from the plaintiff ; that on account of the jama of

parganas Buleea, Bugdee, etc., he fell in balance of Rs. 7,501, which he engaged to pay by instalments by the 15th of Aseen 1204 B.E. (A.D. 1797), and accordingly executed a kistbandi bond, which was countersigned by the judge and register of the zila of Burdwan, and by Mr. Bruce, of Hooghly; that he did not pay the amount, and died in 1210 B.E. (A.D. 1803). The debt, with principal and interest, had amounted to Rs. 15,002, and the defendants, who had inherited the property of the deceased, would not come to any terms for its liquidation; the plaintiff therefore sued for redress."

Govindaprasad Roy did not appear before the Court, either personally or by pleader, and Rammohun, in his defence, answered:

"That he knew nothing of the kistbandi bond, when and wherefore it was executed; that his father, Ramkanta Roy, was a man of property, and that if the plaintiff had any demand against him, on account of arrears of land-revenue, he should have demanded it from him and not from the defendant, who, so far from inheriting the property of his deceased father, had during his lifetime separated from him and the rest of the family, in consequence of his altered habits of life and change of opinions, which did not permit their living together; the plaintiff, therefore, on the plea of inheritance, could urge no claim against the defendant. With regard to the kistbandi bond, the plaintiff had stated that it was made payable in one year, *i.e.*, 1204 B.E. If such were the case, why was the demand not made on, or payment enforced from, the defendant's father, for he did not die till seven years after that period? Admitting the claim to be just (which in fact it was not), the plaintiff should shew cause why he neglected to demand the debt for seven years, while the party in debt was alive; as his instituting a suit now against the defendants, after a lapse of twenty-six years, was opposed to the principles laid down in Sec. 4, Reg. III, 1793. The palliating circumstances, pleaded by the plaintiff, in extenuation of this palpable neglect, appear wholly untenable. His

first excuse is, that he had not pressed the demand solely from motives of civility and good feeling; next, that Jugmohun Roy, the defendant's brother, was an oomeidwar with him; and that the defendant himself was not to be found in the zila. Without risking an opinion as to the feelings of courtesy which deterred the plaintiff from urging his demand, it would be sufficient to say, in respect to his second excuse, that Jugmohun Roy (who died in 1218 B.E., now 13 years) being an oomeidwar with him, could be no bar to the plaintiff urging his demand on him. As for his allegation that the defendant's place of abode could not be found, it was scarcely worthy of consideration, for the defendant was never out of the Company's territories; he alternately resided in the zilas of Ramgarh, Bhagalpur, and Rangpur, and for the last nine years lived in the town of Calcutta; that his house was in Hooghly, and his property to a considerable amount lay within the collectorship of Burdwan; and moreover, he had putneetallooks of high jamas within the plaintiff's own zamindari, as well as in the town of Calcutta. With a knowledge of all this property, the plaintiff never made a single demand on the defendant in regard to the kistbandi bond."

The plaintiff's reply was a confirmation of his original plaint, with the following addition :

" That the defendant's father was among his respectable moostajirs, and was likewise on terms of intimacy with him. On the amount of the kistbandi being demanded, he used to excuse himself from payment by pleading his want of means. After he had died, the amount was successively demanded from his son Jugmohun Roy; and after the death of the latter, from his son Govindaprasad Roy ; but both eluded payment by specious promises and excuses "

In his rejoinder Rammohun remarked : " That if a son succeeds to his father's estate, by virtue of such succession he **makes** himself responsible for all his debts ; but in case of a son separating himself from his father during his lifetime, and by his own exertion acquiring property unconnected with his father,

and after his father's death inheriting no portion of his father's property, both the shastur laws and the established usage and custom of the country do not hold him amenable for his father's debts."

Mr. Braddon, the Judge of the Provincial Court, held "that the plaintiff had adduced no proof that a claim had ever been made on Ramkanta Roy, though he lived six years after the execution of the bond; that the two witnesses, who were brought forward to prove that a demand had been made on Jugmohun Roy and Govindaprasad Roy, were not worthy of credit; that a period of twenty-seven years had elapsed since Rammohun Roy was said to have come into possession of his father's property, and yet no claims had been made on him....As therefore under the Regulations a suit cannot be instituted after twelve years had elapsed, the plaintiff's suit was dismissed with costs."

Thus defeated in the Calcutta Provincial Court, the Rajah of Bardwan appealed to the Sadar Diwani Adalat which, in their judgment pronounced on 10th November, 1831 (when Rammohun was in England), only upheld the decision passed by the Provincial Court and the appellant's suit was dismissed, with the costs of both the Courts.¹

It has never been satisfactorily explained by anybody what induced the Raja of Bardwan to sue Rammohun for the recovery of debts due from the latter's father, after the lapse of 27 years. On this question Rammohun's biographer Nagendranath Chatterji writes: "It is said that Rammohun's stand in opposition to the prevailing practices of the Hindu religion highly irritated the Raja of Bardwan, who harassed him by bringing this suit against the reformer." But such an explanation cannot be regarded as true when we find that Rammohun had begun to oppose the idolatry of the Hindus long before this suit was instituted by the Raja. What then was the motive behind this suit?

¹ *Sumachar Durpun*, dated 15th Dec., 1832, pp. 590-91; *Asiatic Journal*, Dec. 1833, "Asiatic Intelligence--Calcutta," pp. 200-10.

In his evidence on the Bardwan lawsuit, however, Rammohun himself gives an indication of the reason why he was dragged into a lawcourt by the Bardwan Raja, when he says :

“ By the claim the plaintiff had now set forth, unfounded as it was, he seems to have no other end in view than to cause unnecessary vexation and annoyance to the defendant. This supposition would appear fully warranted, when it is considered that Gooroodas Mookerjee, the defendant's daughter's son,¹ held the office of Dewan in the service of Maharaja Purtab Chunder, the son of the plaintiff, and, after the death of the young Maharaja, acted as vakil in behalf of the Ranis, his wives, against the plaintiff, in vindicating their rights in the courts. The relationship existing between the vakil and the defendant led the plaintiff to conclude that, in his judicial pleadings, the former was entirely swayed and aided by the advice of the latter ; hence he entertained a feeling of animosity against the defendant, to gratify which the present suit, in order to work the ruin of the defendant, was brought on, deeming his rank and dignity a sufficient guarantee for the issue ; while his immense wealth makes him careless about the expenses of the prosecution, if, in the gratification of a malignant feeling, it could but serve to crush the defendant.”

That this suit originated wholly in a private pecuniary quarrel will also become clear from the following passage of a letter addressed by the Acting Collector of Midnapur to the Acting Collector of Bardwan :

“ Ramkanta Roy held some mehals in the zemindari of Burdwan during the period of the decennial settlement and whom I have always understood to be a man of substance and responsibility, is very much in debt to the Rajah of Burdwan, who obtained decrees against him in the Diwani Adalat of Hooghly,

¹ From this we now know for the first time that Rammohun had a daughter and that Gurudas Mookerjee was her son, while Miss Collet describes him as the son of Rammohun's sister (p. 3).

kept him some time in confinement there, then got him transferred to the Diwani Jail of Burdwan and has since been able to recover little or nothing, from him owing to his poverty." (25 March, 1803).¹

Rammohun soon found an opportunity for satisfying his grudge against the Raja. He took advantage of some troubles in the Bardwan Raj family and made use of them to embarrass Maharaja Tejchand. As the result of certain peculiar circumstances the latter had, during his lifetime, been obliged to surrender some of his rights over the Raj estate in favour of his mother Bishen Kumari, and he regained them only after her death. But before her death, Bishen Kumari seems to have bequeathed a part of the property to her grandson, Raja Pratapchand, the son of Tejchand, thus creating a rival of the father in the son. This Pratapchand died very young, on January 3, 1821. But the trouble in the succession did not end with his death. He left two young widows behind him, and they at once brought a suit against Tejchand to vindicate their claim to the property of their deceased husband. Gurudas Mookerjee—the daughter's son of Rammohun who had held the office of Diwan to Raja Pratapchand, acted as a vakil on behalf of his widowed Ranis. Among others, Rammohun, as well as his *nāib* Jagannath Majumdar, secretly helped Gurudas Mookerjee in the prosecution of the claims of the Ranis. Rammohun might also have been induced to take the side of the Ranis on account of his friendship with Pratapchand. The latter was an intimate friend of his, and whenever he visited Calcutta came to see him at his Manicktala Garden House. That he was suspected of having instigated the Ranis in this matter will become evident from the following

¹ *Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, 22 April, 1803, No. 3. Mr. Nandamohun Chatterjee, a descendant of the Roy family, writes in his Bengali pamphlet *Some Anecdotes from the Life of Raja Ram Mohun Roy* (2nd ed., p. 61): "There was a long-standing enmity between the Bardwan Raja and the Roy family. The Raja put Ramkanta to many difficulties, for which the latter did not even utter the Raja's name."

petition of Tejchand to the Governor-General, dated 18th November, 1823 :—

“...That his son Raja Pratapchand departed this life [on 21st] in the month of Pous 1227 Bengal style [3rd Jany., 1821], leaving widows Pearicoomari and Anundcoomari, who are young, endued with moderate understanding, and totally unacquainted with the good and bad, and honour and dignity of their ancestors; and that Gopalchund Bahu, father of Babu Rani Anundcoomari, instigated by the advice of Goroodas Babu inhabitant at present of Calcutta, and Juggannath Majmuadar inhabitant of Dhaigaon, and Crishnehund Babu inhabitant of the town of Burdwan and Rammohun Roy inhabitant of Calcutta and Mr. James Stuart, has misled the Bahu Ranis, and in the wish of proving them heiresses to your petitioner's son, and taking possession of the zamindari and so forth, the abovenamed individuals gave rise to serious troubles, and subjected your petitioner to vexation, and harassed him as is universally well known; for they instituted groundless suits in the Zilla, the Superior Court and the Supreme Court against your petitioner. That for some years past he is harassed almost out of life by those ill-natured authors of evil named above,...That although by the judgment and justice of the Zilla Judges and Magistrates, the Judges of the Provincial Court of Appeal for the Division of Calcutta, and the Judges of the Superior Court, according to the custom and usage observed in his family, conformably to the Hindu Laws in force in Hindustan, your petitioner has been confirmed in his hereditary possession, and declared not subject to law in the Supreme Court in the judgment of the Judges of that Court on the 26th of Kartic of the present year, yet the aforesaid evildoers are creating fresh troubles every day for the purpose of ruining the zamindari, in the intent of harassing your petitioner and subjecting him again to the jurisdiction by the above Court. As your petitioner cannot enjoy a moment's quiet and tranquillity from the litigations of those persons...he humbly thinks that without a small share of

protection and kindness of Government, he cannot continue as hitherto....”¹

We thus find that Raja Tejchand had just grounds for entertaining a feeling of animosity towards Rammohun, who secretly endeavoured to thwart his attempt to take possession of his late son's zamindari, and therefore Rammohun's religious belief had nothing to do with the quarrel.

Criminal Proceedings against Radhaprasad Roy.

The defeat of the Raja of Bardwan in the Provincial Court of Calcutta only increased his hostile feelings towards Rammohun. How he fomented the trouble when Radhaprasad Roy, the eldest son of Rammohun, was prosecuted at Bardwan on a charge of embezzlement of public money, will be now narrated. It being a Crown case, full proceedings of it are available among the Secretariat records, as the Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs had to keep the Board of Revenue informed of its developments from time to time. In dealing with this suit, however, I shall only confine myself to such particulars as refer to the biography of Rammohun Roy.

The name of Mr. John Digby of the Civil Service is known to us as the philosopher, friend and guide of Rammohun, who, before settling in Calcutta early in 1815, had served him as a subordinate officer for some time. Mr. Digby proceeded home on furlough at the close of the year 1814 and came back to India in November 1819. On 1st September, 1821 he was appointed Acting Collector of Bardwan² (being made permanent in February next). Such was his friendship with Rammohun that during his Collectorship at Bardwan he offered most of the important and responsible posts under the Bardwan Collectorate to the

¹ Trans. of a Persian letter from Tejchand, Zamindar of Burdwan, to the Governor-General, dated 4 Aghan, 1230 Bengali style [-18th November 1823] *Judicial (Civil) Con.* 4th December, 1823, No. 11.

² *Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, 14th September, 1821, No. 2.

relations and dependants of the latter, *e.g.*, Rammohun's eldest son Radhaprasad was made the second sheristadar, and his nephew Govindaprasad the Daroghah of Abkari, the post of Treasurer was conferred on Shibnarain Roy—son of Rajiblochan Roy who was not only a distant relation but a very intimate friend of Rammohun.

In June, 1824 Mr. Digby fell seriously ill, and on 19th July applied for a short leave. The Board of Revenue granted him six weeks' leave. Taking advantage of Mr. Digby's illness, his treasurer—Shibnarain Roy—had disbursed on his own account Rs. 1,36,000 of the Company's money, consisting of cash and bank notes, and when, prior to his leaving the district, Mr. Digby directed his *amlas* to prepare to make over charge to his successor, the treasurer without appearing at the office waited personally on the Magistrate of the district and preferred a complaint against Radhaprasad Roy, the sheristadar, alleging that the above amount had been paid to him (Radhaprasad) from the public treasury.¹ Mr. Digby at once reported the whole matter to the Board. Immediately after this, Radhaprasad Roy tendered his resignation (30th July), which was accepted by Mr. Digby. That gentleman handed over charge of the Bardwan Collectorate to his successor, Mr. J. Armstrong, on 11th August, 1824.

The Board, on hearing of this defalcation in the Bardwan Collector's office, at once deputed Mr. E. Molony, the Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, to enquire into the true state of affairs and institute, on behalf of Government, a criminal prosecution against the treasurer and other persons whom he had implicated in his malpractices.

¹ "The substance of the petition which was presented to Mr. Hutchinson by Shibnarayan Roy, the Treasurer, is that he is very young now, not more than 22 years of age, that about two years ago Radhaprasad with whom (in consequence of a strict intimacy existing between their parents) he was acquainted, offered to make him Treasurer, at the same time representing that he could do whatever he pleased with Mr. Digby the Collector." *Board of Revenue Con.*, 31st August, 1824, No. 31.

Mr. Molony while investigating the matter at Bardwan addressed on 14th August a letter to the Board, in which he enumerated the principal officers of the Bardwan Collectorate and remarked :

“ Government will observe that every important post in the office was filled by some one connected with the family of Radhaprasad, and that the 'Treasury, Stamps, Opium and Records, were completely under their command.’”¹

On 10th September, 1824, Mr. Molony was able to send from Bardwan a further report, from which we quote the following :—

“ In my former report I noticed an assertion which had been made in the petition of the late Treasurer Shibnarayan Roy, that although Mr. Digby was nominally Collector yet Radhaprasad Roy was in reality the person who directed all the proceedings in the office, and I at the same time stated from my own observation that Mr. Digby's official conduct appeared entirely to be influenced by that individual. I sincerely wish that I could state from the investigation I have since gone into and the proceedings before the Magistrate that the conclusions I then came to were erroneous. I request, however, to add that the result of my enquiries and the criminal proceedings as far as they have gone, only tend to show that the real part which Mr. Digby has taken for several months in the business of this Collectorship extends no further (except in a few instances of an unimportant nature) than merely affixing his name to papers which were presented to him by Radhaprasad who in fact exercised the real authority of the office in Mr. Digby's name.

“ This man though holding the comparatively low and irresponsible situation of second Sheristadar has for the last two years been addressed as Mr. Digby's Diwan, and looked to us the most important personage in the office by all ranks of people in this district and even beyond it.

¹ *Ibid.*

“The Estate of Nedeepoor, before the sale, stood in the name of Rajiblochun Roy, the father of the Treasurer, but it really belonged to Rammohun Roy, the father of Radhaprasad.”¹

Mr. Digby, then in Calcutta, was asked “to submit to the Board, with as little delay as he could, such explanation as he might wish to offer on the several points raised by Mr. Molony touching his official conduct.” (21st September 1824).²

In his explanation on the points raised in Mr. Molony’s first report Mr. Digby tried to exonerate himself from the charge that he had allowed a single family to occupy almost every situation of trust and importance, though it will be seen from the following extracts from it that his defence does not hold water :

“The story which the treasurer has told in order to excuse himself from responsibility for the embezzlement of the treasure, under his charge, is merely a tissue of gross and palpable falsehoods. With regard to the manner of his appointment, his father Rajiblochun Roy, in whom, having long known him, I had reposed confidence, earnestly solicited this situation for his son...And I stated that the main grounds on which I rested my opinion of his fitness for the office, were the ‘unexceptionable character’ which he at that time bore, and the respectability of his security, Rajiblochun Roy ; and that this ground has not proved fallacious appears from the fact of the money embezzled being replaced by the security, when the defalcation was made known to him .

“The only relation of Radhaprasad...is Govindaprasad Roy his cousin who having ruined himself by an unsuccessful lawsuit in the Supreme Court which he had carried on during my absence in Europe against his uncle Rammohun Roy. The latter, after my return, from compassion for his nephew’s distress, was induced to request me to give him a situation

¹ *Board of Revenue Con.*, 21st September 1824, No. 60.

² *Ibid*, No. 62.

to keep him from starving, since he could safely testify to his qualification. As he had not been previously in any public employ, I appointed him to act upon his probation as Daroghah of the Abkari ' this situation having become vacant by the resignation of the former Daroghah ; and from this office I understand Govindaprasad has been removed by Mr. Armstrong and put upon his trial before the Magistrate on an accusation of bribery and embezzlement.

“ Ramchand Ganguli...is, I understand, merely connected with Radhaprasad from the circumstance of Ramchand's sister being married to a cousin of the former...This young man, possessed of very superior qualifications. He was accordingly recommended to me when the office of second Record Keeper [the Mahafez Daftar] became vacant.

“Shibnarayan the Khazanchi...is, I understand, only distantly connected with Radhaprasad by marriage, and was nominated by me as treasurer for the reasons before mentioned... This situation as before explained was given by me not on account of any relationship between him and Radhaprasad Roy, far less on account of his being dependent in any manner on Radhaprasad's family.

“ Ramhari Mitter the Stamp Daroghah...I am aware that for some time previous to receiving this appointment, he acted as a Muktear at Burdwan, and I am informed he managed some business for Rammohun Roy as well as others, but it was not certainly this latter circumstance which induced me to appoint him to the situation.

“ With respect to Kunjabihari Roy the Head Sheristadar of my office,...Mr. Molony represents him as ' an old dependent of Rammohun Roy '...The fact is, as I have ascertained that Kunjabihari was never Rammohun Roy's dependent for the space of a single hour...I myself knew him personally when Register at Ramghur, under Mr. Miller, Kunjabihari at that time filling the situation of Sheristadar...From my personal acquaintance with him for about two years...

“Ramdhan Chatterjee, Head Mohurer in the Treasury Dept., is, Mr. Molony observes, ‘an old servant and dependent’ of Rajiblochan Roy, the treasurer’s father. At the repeated request of Shibnarayan the treasurer and his father as he (Ramdhan) appeared shrewd and well-versed in business, I recommended the Board to appoint him to that situation.

“Lalla Madan Gopal...is a native of the Upper Provinces, and was totally unknown, as I understand, to Radhaprasad Roy or any of his family until his arrival at Burdwan. He has, however, been removed, I understand, on the ground of intimacy with Radhaprasad, from the situation of Second Sheristadar to which I had nominated him on the resignation of the latter.

“With regard to my acceptance of his (Radhaprasad’s) resignation, I beg leave to state that on my arrival at Burdwan to assume the duties of Collector, I found the office of Second Sheristadar vacant, and nominated one Nilmoni to officiate and on his resigning Radhaprasad was employed to act in that situation. After these enquiries concerning the embezzlement commenced, Radhaprasad being obliged to be in constant attendance before the Magistrate, could no longer attend to the duties of his office, and in the latter end of July gave in his resignation, which I consequently accepted, nominating Madan Gopal in his stead. But as the charges made against him by Shibnarayan regarding the embezzlement were preferred previous to Radhaprasad’s resignation, he is as much answerable as before.” (22 Sept., 1824.)¹

Mr. Digby’s second letter to the Board leaves us in no doubt as to the existence of a strong local party, headed by the Raja of Bardwan, and opposed to the family of Rammohun, from the influence of which party Mr. Molony, perhaps, was not free :

“Mr. Molony...remarks on the circumstance of Radhaprasad Roy being addressed at Burdwan by the title of Diwan...It is

¹ *Board of Revenue Con.*, 19 October 1824, No. 12A.

not at all surprising that this degree of respect was paid to Radhaprasad Roy who was entitled to consideration from the respectability of his family even although he had not held any public situation, a circumstance which I hope Mr. Molony would not wish to be regarded but as the reverse of derogatory. He as well as the gentlemen formerly at the station will recollect that Gurudas Mookerjee a cousin of Radhaprasad's when residing there some years ago, was looked up to with the same kind of respect although he held no public situation, being merely Diwan to the young Rajah of Burdwan, yet from a similar feeling towards this member of Radhaprasad's family he was also treated with greater deference than any others who formerly held the same situation.

“The conduct of Radhaprasad Roy being in the course of judicial investigation, to avoid prejudicing the case, I forbear remarking on any circumstances but a few that have a more immediate reference to myself and have been represented in a manner that tends to injure me in the estimation of Government. After viewing the extraordinary industry used in collecting circumstances of this kind, which, with the help of the very strong colouring put upon them and the far strained inferences drawn by Mr. Molony, are capable of bearing an unfavourable construction, I cannot help being of opinion that Mr. Molony's mind has been too open to receive impressions from the party of intriguers at Burdwan who have been so long labouring to thwart the proceedings and torture and misrepresent the conduct of the persons employed under me in the collectorship. This hostility was powerfully instigated by the Rajah of Burdwan who regarded Radhaprasad Roy, as his personal enemy, as declared in the Persian petition presented by the Rajah to the Board in May last. This enmity of the Rajah was occasioned, I understand, by a lawsuit instituted against him by the Ranis, his daughters-in-law, in which they were assisted by the above-mentioned Gurudas Mookerjee, Radhaprasad's cousin, and afterwards by himself to put them in

possession of the Rajah's estate as heiresses of their deceased husband ; and as the Rajah, on account of very extensive landed property, had upwards of three-fourths of the district under his influence, his efforts to revenge himself on Radhaprasad and his family have been unbounded. The Rajah and his dependents in revenge for my not having ridded them of a person so obnoxious to them, have laboured to misrepresent the degree of confidence I reposed in Radhaprasad Roy by giving a certain turn to every little circumstance, although in itself altogether indifferent and the treasurer to escape the consequences of his embezzlement has naturally sought protection from the same cabal. On the details furnished in Mr. Molony's report to induce a belief that I was under the influence of Radhaprasad Roy, I may make this general observation, that if I were to adopt the same line of conduct I might easily make out as many specious appearances to show that Mr. Molony in drawing out his report was entirely imbued with the opinions of the leaders of this cabal at Burdwan." (9th October 1824.)¹

On 30th August Mr. Digby had submitted a medical certificate for leave to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope for the benefit of his health, but the Board of Revenue could not grant it until receipt of the explanation so urgently demanded from him. He was now permitted to proceed to the Cape on 12 months' leave.² He left Calcutta in November and reached his destination in the following January. Though he defended Radhaprasad very stoutly, he did not live to see him acquitted by the Nizamat Court in 1826.

Radhaprasad's case came up for hearing on 31st January 1825, and after several postponements it was concluded before the Calcutta Court of Circuit on 15th February, 1826. The *fatwa* of the Law Officer of the Court of Circuit "declared that the crime had not been proved satisfactorily against Shibnarayan

¹ *Board of Revenue Con.*, 19th Oct. 1824, No. 12A.

² *Territorial Procdgs.*, 29th October, 1824, p. 361.

Roy [the treasurer] or Radhaprasad Roy [the Sheristadar] in consequence of the contradictory evidence which had been given by the witnesses for the prosecution.”¹

The Judge of Circuit—Mr. R. Walpole—however differed with the Law Officer and referred the whole of the proceedings relating to the accused for the final orders of the Court of Nizamat Adalat, as he deemed them to have been fully convicted, Radhaprasad as principal, of the crime of embezzlement and Shibnarayan of conniving at it. He wrote from Bardwan on 25th February 1826 to the Register of the Nizamat Adalat :

“It is manifest I think from the proceedings on the trial the fact indeed notorious, that Radhaprasad possessed unbounded influence with the Collector, and was allowed to exercise an undue and extensive control over every department of the Collector's office.

“I consider it to be fully established by the evidence for the prosecution that the Putnee Taluk of Lot Needhecpur, which had been held by his father, Rammohun Roy, in the name of Rajib-lochun Roy, was purchased by Radhaprasad on the 19th May 1823, at a public sale in the Register's Court, in the name of Gopeemohun Chatterjea, for the sum of Sicca Rupees 95,000... P.S. It may be proper to remark that I consider the defendant Radhaprasad to be liable to punishment under the Muhammadan Law, although Regulation 2 of 1813 may be deemed not applicable to his case.”²

The Nizamat Adalat (Puisne Judges C. Smith and C. T. Sealy) passed the following sentence on 5th June, 1826 :

¹ *Territorial Dept. Procdgs.*, 23 Feby. 1826, No. 36.

Among the Judicial (Criminal) records is found a lengthy petition which Radhaprasad filed on 13 Aug. 1825 in the Sadar Diwani Adalat. The main object of it was to procure the exclusion of Mr. Molony from conducting the prosecution on the ground that he had throughout tried to usurp the functions of the Judge instead of acting as a prosecutor, and he had thereby unduly influenced the proceedings against him. (*Jud. Criminal Con.* 15 Dec. 1825, No. 17).

² *Territorial Procds.*, 26 July 1826, No. 15.

“The *fatwa* of the Law Officers of the Nizam Adalat, acquitting the prisoner Radhaprasad Brahmin, of the charge declares him entitled to his release, and convicting the prisoner Shibnarayan Brahmin of *participation, privity* and *concealment* of the embezzlement of the public money to the amount of Rs. 1,36,360-8-8 and the prisoner Ramdhan Brahmin of *privity* to the same embezzlement, declares both the prisoners liable to Tazeer. The Court concurring in the *fatwa* with regard to Radhaprasad Brahmin, the Shibnarayan Brahmin and deeming the prisoner Ramdhan Brahmin guilty of the same offence which the *fatwa* finds against Shibnarayan, direct that the prisoner Radhaprasad Roy be forthwith discharged, and sentence the prisoners Shibnarayan Roy Brahmin and Ramdhan Chatterjee to be imprisoned without labor in the Civil Jail of Zillah Burdwan for the term of four years, from the present date.”¹

Rammohun Roy was so very much worried by this long drawn case against his son that he neglected his correspondence with his English and American friends during the interval, as Mr. Adam informs us.

It will be sufficiently clear from the above how the case against Radhaprasad really originated, though Miss Collet, referring to this case asserts that “it was only a part of the campaign of persecution carried on in the lawcourts against the hated reformer.”² She evidently echoes here what Col. Young, in his letter to Jeremy Bentham, dated September 30, 1828, wrote regarding Rammohun: “His whole time almost has been occupied for the last two years in defending himself and his son against bitter and vindictive persecution which has been got up against the latter nominally, but against himself and his abhorred free opinions in reality—by a conspiracy of his own bigotted countrymen, protected and encouraged, not to say instigated by some of our influential and official men.”³

¹ *Ibid.*, No. 14. See also *Asiatic Journal*, Nov. 1834 (*Asiatic Intelligence*—Calcutta, pp. 149-53).

² Miss Collet, p. 119.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-41.

Hence we see that in none of the suits in which he himself or his son was involved—were the religious opinions held by Rammohun the inspiring motive or even the remote cause of the prosecution, as the contemporary records prove.

Importance of English Judicial Records.

The importance of the English judicial records cannot be over-estimated. These often contain judgments which give us carefully sifted evidence, while secretariat records are mostly made up of letters and statements which are one-sided in the sense that they have never been subjected to test or hostile scrutiny. Full proceedings of all the lawsuits referred to in the foregoing pages are to be found among the records of the Supreme Court, as well as those of the Sadar Diwani and Sadar Nizamat Adalats,—now lying in the record rooms of the Calcutta High Court. These judicial records are, I understand, now being classified and re-arranged and, when access is given to them, the biographer of Rammohun is likely to unearth from them much useful information which will serve to remove many doubts and wrong notions about his life still current among us. Searches, conducted in the Collectorate record rooms of Hughli, Bardwan, Midnapur and Rangpur may also repay the labour entailed, unless these offices have already destroyed their old papers.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJĠ

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION ADDRESS¹

YOUR EXCELLENCY THE CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—

I feel profoundly thankful to your Excellency for the academic honour extended to me in calling upon me to deliver the Convocation Address to the graduates of the year. I am deeply conscious of my limitations and shortcomings for the efficient discharge of my duties towards the alumni of this University on this great and momentous occasion to them. I have neither the gift and glory of expression to convey old and wholesome truths in a new form, nor do I command the intellectual vision to deliver anything like a message to the graduates of the year. My justification for accepting this responsible task in obedience to the call of His Excellency the Chancellor is that I am of Andhra, am deeply interested in the well-being of this University, and that I take a deep and genuine interest, if I may say so, in student life.

Graduates of the year, on behalf of the Senate of this University, I offer my hearty congratulations to you on the academic honours and distinctions which you have attained as the result of your strenuous work and endeavour. Before I discharge my primary and legitimate duty of exhorting the graduates, I crave leave to give expression to a few sentiments of mine on the working of Indian Universities and their place in the economy of life of the Indian nation at the present day.

As you are aware, the oldest universities in India were ushered in in the Mutiny year, a circumstance which redounds greatly to the glory and credit of Britain and early British Indian statesmanship. The period of 75 years during which the older universities have been working has been one of no mean achievement on their part. The universities have contributed some of the finest brains to the service of the State

¹ Delivered by Alladi Krishnaswamy Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Advocate General, Madras.

that were able to hold their own against the products of Oxford and Cambridge. They have produced capable administrators, far-seeing and wise statesmen, and subtle and brilliant lawyers. They have opened up the treasures of the knowledge of the West in science and in arts to intellectual India. They have, through the medium of English literature, which is pre-eminently a literature of liberty, instilled an irrepressible love of civic and political freedom and made the Indian people aspire to their legitimate and rightful place in the sisterhood of nations. They have brought the hoary and traditional civilization of the East into intimate contact with the progressive and militant civilization of the West. They have uprooted ancient prejudices and upset social values.

But a recounting of the above facts practically sums up the work of the Indian universities. It cannot be claimed for these universities that they have until recent times contributed in any appreciable degree to any creative work in arts, letters, or in science or to extending the frontiers of human knowledge. They have not stirred up the scientific spirit or the spirit of enquiry and they have not produced enough men of note whose sole pursuit in life is the quest for truth or penetrating into the secrets of nature and of man. In making these statements, I am of course not taking into account the great achievements of men like Sir C. V. Raman, Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, Sir P. C. Ray and Professor Radhakrishnan in recent times and of the noble and gallant band of young workers and associates with them, who have shed a lustre on India and have raised her in the estimation of the world. The Universities have not brought into existence apostles of culture determined to extend the benefits of university knowledge to the average man and raise the intellectual tone of society as a whole.

One may pause to enquire what exactly are the psychological and the deeper causes for the comparatively little output of work on the part of the Indian universities. It is not that the ideal of a life dedicated to knowledge for its own sake is a

foreign conception to the Indian mind. The scholar without any means of living, with a bowl in his hands and with no transport facilities, going all the way from this end of India to Benares to pursue the study of the Shastras for years with no kind of immediate prospect of material gain, was by no means until recently a rare or unfamiliar phenomenon. Whether the kind of knowledge which he aspired to might appeal to the modern mind or not is quite another matter. It is not that the Indian is incapable of realising the powerful influence of the contact of an inspiring personality or the spiritual relation between the teacher and the taught which ought to form the basis of all true knowledge and university life. The ideal relationship between the teacher and the taught has not been sung or expressed in better or more glorious terms than in the great Vedic Verse :

ॐ. सह नाववतु ।
 सह नौ भुनक्तु ।
 सह वीर्यं करवावहे ।
 तेजसि नावधीतमस्तु ।
 मा विद्मिषावहे ॥

It is not that the Indian is constitutionally bent upon an acquisition of immediate gain and is incapable of appreciating the grandeur of the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake and the supreme value of the lesson of waiting. The religion of the Hindu teaches the devout Hindu that he has to pass through successive births and deaths before he attains true knowledge and the highest bliss and that through all these stages he must be seeking for enlightenment and working out his Dharma. It is not that the Indian by nature is not imbued with the spirit of adventure and the unquenchable spirit to make new conquests of nature and of the spiritual world. One has only to remember in this connection the crossing of the Himalayan Passes by the Buddhist monks and the conveying of the message of Lord

Buddha to Tibet, China and far off countries and of the triumphant march of Sankara, the bachelor hermit, throughout the length and breadth of India. Again, the idea that a university is a society of learning, gathering together scholars and professors is an exotic plant which finds it difficult to take a firm root in this ancient land. The great universities of Nalanda, Takshasila, Nadya and Navadwipa are a refutation of any such misconception.

What then are the real causes if there is nothing radically wrong with Indian environment? With the advent of the British rule and the impact between the powerful and over-powering civilization of the West and the traditional civilization of the East, intellectual India found herself, so to speak, suddenly in a new world and an adjustment between two civilizations with different view-points is not altogether an easy affair. The cultural classes of India to whom study was a part of their harmonious development suddenly found themselves denatured. The Pundit's son who turned to university studies began to realise that his learning, his memory, and his dialectical subtlety had an economic value which it had never before. It meant official preferment, professional emoluments, administrative power and influence, new wealth and new comfort to which his ancestors did not attach any importance. A new-fangled materialism without the motive power behind it, which has dominated the great civilization of the West and which has contributed to the great conquest of the Western world in the region of knowledge and science, overlook the cultural classes. The learning in the universities was no doubt not the privilege or the monopoly of any particular class or caste and that certainly give a new orientation to the educational ideals in this country, but the classes to whom the pursuit of higher studies was not a part of their hereditary occupation and who took to university education were no more imbued with the spirit of true learning than the cultural classes. Their objective was no more the widening of their intellectual horizon than that of the cultural classes. The

British statesmen themselves did not realise that universities were great national agencies and must be the self-expression of the highest qualities of the people and must link together in organic union the past with the living present. The universities were merely regarded as manufactories for the mass production of clerks and officials and for providing an administrative machinery to the Government. The State and the Government did not realise that expenditure of the right type on universities, the development of big libraries and laboratories, the promotion of the fellowship of science and of knowledge were not an item of expenditure but a national investment. The whole scheme of education became poisoned by the virus of examination.

Dissatisfaction was felt from time to time with the educational system, in enlightened quarters and among the people of this country and successive commissions were appointed by the Government of India to go into the working of the universities. But no radical or far-reaching reforms were effected and the basic principle underlying the earlier organization was not touched nor altered until recently. It was not until the Act of 1904 that the Government of this country realised that the universities in this country have a greater function to discharge than merely testing the fitness of candidates by examinations. For the first time the Indian University Commission of 1902 and the University Act of 1904 recognised that the universities in India cannot take their rightful place among the great educational institutions of the world unless at least the universities assumed teaching functions within defined limits. But even these changes effected by the University Act of 1904 did not meet the needs of the situation, though it is only fair to the Government to point out that the Act of 1904 gave a great impetus to the teaching and research side of university work in some of the Indian universities. In the year 1917 the Government of India appointed a special commission presided over by distinguished educationists in England and in this country to report on the working of the universities in general

and of the Calcutta University in particular. The Commission made a report which is a monumental work and is a classical contribution to the subject of university organisation and ideals and educational reform. This was followed up by the starting of a number of universities all over the country and by the remodelling of some of the older universities. The recent development and multiplication of new universities including the Andhra University, the great emphasis laid at present on teaching and research work in Indian universities, are in some part traceable to the work of the Commission. There is one point to be noticed in regard to the government of these universities and the remodelling of the older universities. The framers of the new constitutions were too much dominated by the idea of a demarcation and definition of functions. The machinery erected is too elaborate and complicated for the work-a-day business of the universities and has introduced an element of legalism into university life. The representation of local bodies in the university has introduced a new kind of lay element which may not appeal to some academic minds. But these are defects which may be easily rectified in course of time.

Meanwhile in the Western world a new orientation has come about in regard to the right concept of the proper functions of a university as the result of the catastrophic changes brought about by the Great War and post-war intellectual upheaval. Advancement in knowledge and science is regarded as the very condition of existence of a nation in times of peace and of survival in times of war. The field of competition is not confined to any particular country but extends to the whole world. The feeling is growing strong that the scientific attitude of men must come out of the laboratory and be applied to the events of daily life and it is only by the adoption of the scientific attitude that you can fight disease, squalor and dirt, the great enemies of humanity. The universities are no longer to be merely places of polite and genteel learning. They have to be the "reservoirs of the intellectual forces of the nation and the

clearing house of intellectual ideas." The State can no longer stand aloof from the universities but must place unreservedly its resources without in any way impairing the academic freedom which is the breath of a true university. The universities in their turn owe a duty to the tax-payer to bring themselves into intimate touch with the life of a nation and to satisfy the moral, intellectual and practical needs of a society. There is no subject which can be ruled out of the category of university subjects and of university instruction. Humanities, pure science, science in its application to industry, have all a claim upon the universities.

The Inter-University Bureau, the Philosophic and Science Conferences, the facilities afforded for the meeting of the best minds of the world, point to the recognition by nations of the necessity of international fellowship in science and knowledge.

In this insurgence of new ideas there is only one jarring note which the student of recent Western history cannot fail to observe. In the West there are two contradictory forces at work. On the one hand, it is recognised that intellect and knowledge know no racial distinction or barriers; the savants of the world are not the property of any particular nation but are the priceless possessions of humanity. On the other hand, we find emphasis is being laid upon the universities being in the nature of purely national-utility corporations. The better mind of the world is looking to the universities coming forward with a new gospel and a new mission attempting a synthesis between the university serving as an instrument of national well-being, and the university acting as a factor in the promotion of international fellowship and *camaraderie* in knowledge so that the Naval Disarmament Conferences may not merely be euphemistic successes and the League of Nations may really represent a change of heart on the part of the nations of the world. In the language of one of the Chancellors of the Oxford University, the future peace of the world depends upon the freemasonry of intellectual ideals and the drawing together of all

the minds and consciousness of educated and thoughtful men. We in India cannot afford to sit still when the whole world is moving, nor can we live in a state of splendid isolation from the rest of the world. Life is a perpetual movement. You either move or you must stagnate and perish. As a recent writer puts it "Whatever the forms of life may be, there is but one sin against the Holy Ghost, Inertia. For Inertia is the law of the earth as opposed to the law of the spirit."

If India wakes up to the world situation and readjusts her educational institutions to suit the new world conditions, I have no doubt that the universities will have a great and noble part to play in regard to the future of civilization. By her culture, by the bright and radiant humanism which breathes through it, the synthesis which she has successfully attempted from time to time among conflicting races and civilizations in the past, she is eminently fitted to deliver a message of universal peace and love to the war-weary nations of the Western world trying to extricate themselves from the cult of intransigent nationalism and national domination. In the revivalistic period if only her youth are inspired by the same love of disinterested learning as in Ancient India, she will also make her great contributions to scientific knowledge and progress.

With these general remarks on university education, let me take up a bit of your time on the problems confronting the Andhra University. In the first place, let me make clear one point. I am not one of those who believe that the multiplication of universities is not a move in the right direction on the ground that it may lead merely to accentuate the problem of unemployment, for, as a very respected friend of mine remarked, "It is much better that there are educated unemployed than uneducated unemployed." At the same time it cannot be gainsaid that the Government of this Presidency and the leaders of Andhra Desa who were keen on the establishment of the Andhra University, owe a great duty to the students of Andhra Desa. The University itself was established at a time when the Andhra

youth were just feeling the stimulus of intellectual competition with the rest of South India. To some extent the establishment of the university has drawn away the youth from that field. An ill-fed, an ill-equipped and an ill-directed university may do a greater disservice to the cause of education than there being no university at all. For some time, a great deal of precious time was taken up over wrangling in regard to the head quarters of the university. Whether the decision of the Government and of the Legislative Council appeals to all sections of Andhra Desa or not, it is now time that we make up our quarrels and settle down to earnest and strenuous work. But the university cannot be set to working order excepting on a sound financial basis. Though the people of Andhra Desa feel thankful to the Government for the capital grant recently made, one may be pardoned if one gives expression to the sentiment that the amount allotted is hardly sufficient even for the initial outlay and the barest necessary expenses which have to be incurred in keeping the university going. I have no doubt that His Excellency, as the Chancellor of this University, will fight our cause in the Councils of the Government and secure strong financial support. India is pre-eminently a land of charity and Andhra Desa is not behind the rest of India. The Landed Aristocracy of this part of India were in the past great patrons of art and of learning and even in recent times have been responsible for the founding of some of the colleges in Andhra Desa. There is no doubt that in spite of our poverty, we are frittering away a good deal of our limited resources upon luxuries which we cannot afford and on frivolities which cannot sustain us. Is it too much to hope that the Middle Classes, the Aristocracy and the Local Bodies will realise that the University is the nerve centre of the life of the people and will conserve all their resources and help to build up this University?

In regard to the general work of the university, I may be permitted to offer a few remarks. With our appalling poverty and with the growing requirements of a modern university, it is

imperatively necessary that we should husband our resources. And ill-conceived or ill-laid plans may easily lead the university into financial difficulties. While no modern university can afford to neglect arts and sciences up to the Honours courses, if the universities in this part of India are to properly function they ought to make it a point of specialising in particular branches in the post-graduate courses and in the research departments of the university, care being taken to see that specialisation rests on a solid foundation of general knowledge and culture. This is specially so in the field of higher Technology, Applied Science, Engineering and the like. A bias in regard to a particular department of knowledge or a local colouring of a university with reference to its environments is not inconsistent with a high university ideal. A dead level of uniformity cannot be an end in itself. In modern conditions it is impossible that all universities can progress on the same lines. The recent growth of universities in the United Kingdom furnishes a happy illustration in regard to this matter. Witness the history of Glasgow, Liverpool, Sheffield, Birmingham and Leeds. Sheffield specialises in Metallurgy ; Liverpool and Glasgow in Engineering ; Leeds in certain branches of Chemical Research and Training. I have no doubt that the university experts in Andhra are applying themselves to this aspect of the question.

The need for specialisation is all the greater because the prestige of a university depends on its attaining excellence in some branch of knowledge and under modern conditions it is impossible to expect a university to achieve the result without some degree of specialisation. The future of our country is bound up with advance in science and technology and the close relationship established between the business and the industrial life of the country and the universities as intellectual centres. The cultivation of pure science must no doubt continue to occupy a prominent place in the life of the university but that is not enough. The sphere of university studies has necessarily to be

extended to higher technology, as industry is the very condition of existence of a modern society and industry cannot flourish without the aid of Applied Science and Higher Technology. The main problem before our universities is how to fit in technological instruction with university education without in any way interfering with the higher function of the university. In any scheme of technological instruction we must necessarily have regard to the local or provincial needs and to the financial resources at our disposal. Care has also to be taken to see that insistence on technological instruction does not degenerate into worship of power and efficiency for their own sake and desecrate the temples of learning.

Again, in the interests of economy, the idea occurred to me whether it is not possible on the part of all the universities in South India to attempt a co-operation and concentration of research work in a particular centre or place.

While on the subject of research, it is well to remember that for years to come it may be difficult for our universities to spend very large sums of money on the higher and advanced research in particular subjects especially in Applied Science. That work will have to be largely left to the Central Institutes of Science started by the Government or special institutions organised by individual professors and maintained by Government and private support, the universities keeping themselves in touch and being closely linked with these institutions. Apart from the question of finance, a university professor who is a teacher in virtue of his profession must have a good deal of his time absorbed in the task of directing the students' studies. The rapidity and complexity in the growth of modern scientific knowledge is increasing the difficulties of the professor in trying to keep up with recent research. Even in the opulent West necessity is felt for having independent scientific organisations. The Kaiser Wilhelm Gesellschaft which has attracted some of the greatest scientists of the world, is a

standing example of a scientific organisation devoted to research. The success of these institutions themselves would to a very great extent depend upon discovering men of genius and talent capable of devoting their lives to and on providing adequate opportunities for the development and utilisation of their talents.

In the development of your university every facility ought to be afforded for the full and natural expression of Andhra genius and culture so that the university may find its own soul. The last 20 or 30 years has been a period of Renaissance in Andhra literature in the field of drama, the novel and literary journalism. The Andhra is passionately fond of his native tongue and Telugu literature has shown a wonderful power of assimilating new ideas and being responsive to intellectual stimuli from without. Owing to the great affinity between Telugu and Sanskrit literatures there is no need of specially emphasising the importance of Sanskrit and Vedic learning in any scheme of Oriental studies. We on this side of the Presidency are fortunately not confronted with the barren and profitless controversy of the supposed conflict between Dravidian and Sanskrit cultures. You may as well attempt to erase the past of India as attempt to nullify the importance of Sanskrit. It is unthinkable that any Indian university can relegate Sanskrit to a subordinate position when Berlin, Harvard and Yale have accorded an important place to it and are in a position to claim among its alumni votaries to Sanskrit culture.

The fine arts have a peculiar attraction for Andhra genius. The aesthetic sense and the love of the beautiful is a strong point of Andhra nature and character. The emotional idealism of the Andhra, the spontaneity of his nature, his refined intellectuality and a certain love of ease and leisure find a natural expression in the cultivation of the fine arts. The Andhra School of Painting, with a happy blend in it of Western realism and Eastern idealism, bids fair to rival the Bengal school. I have no doubt that this university will lay special emphasis on these sides of intellectual activity and I hope and

trust that a false utilitarianism will not deter the university authorities from according a legitimate place to fine arts and literature. As Bertrand Russel puts it : " All great art and science spring from the passionate desire to embody what was at first an unsubstantial phantom, a beckoning beauty, luring men away from safety to a glorious torment. The men in whom this passion exists must not be fettered by the shackles of an utilitarian philosophy, for, to their ardour, we owe all that makes man great."

No nation can rank as civilised which does not pay homage to the artistic craftsman who puts all his self into the work ; to the poet and to the painter who out of pure love of the beautiful "spend infinite pains to choosing their most perfect expression in words or in canvas for their ideas."

While the university is still on the threshold of its career, it will be well to remember that important as libraries, laboratories and museums are, by far the most important contributory to the efficiency and success of a university is the human material. It is the presence of great scholars and teachers that gives vitality to the university. The best part of education is the stimulating contact with an inspiring personality and a great teacher is a centre of thought and radiating influence. The selection to a university professorship ought therefore to rest purely on merit, irrespective of caste, creed or communal distinctions. No one ought to be appointed to a professorship who has not done some research work in his subject, as research and teaching go hand in hand and are indissolubly connected with each other. There is no use of artificially grading professors into England-returned and non-England-returned. A scheme which would exclude a Professor Raman or a Professor Radhakrishnan from the ranks of high-grade professorship stands self-condemned.

It is a well-known fact that the only university in this country which is known in the outside world for its outstanding contributions to science and scholarship is the University of

Calcutta. Fortunately for us, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, perhaps the greatest educationist of our time, presided over its destinies at a critical period and started the Post-Graduate Teaching Departments which are to-day the pride of our country. The greatness of these departments is due to Sir Asutosh's wise and careful selection of brilliant men from different parts of the country, irrespective of petty provincial or narrow communal considerations. His penetrating genius for discerning talent received a new confirmation in the award of the Nobel Prize to Sir C. V. Raman. That a student of the Madras Presidency College and a worker in the Calcutta University Laboratory could also turn out work which would command the admiration of the world was amply demonstrated by the achievements of Professor Raman. Given favourable conditions I have no doubt that contributions of the highest quality even in the field of science could be made by Indian universities. To my mind the credit for Professor Raman's work is largely due to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Only a man of his keenness of discernment, great imagination, and largeness of mind could have brushed aside established reputations and offered the Palit Chair of Physics to a young officer of the Finance Department with absolutely no European training who had however shown signs of genius in the research work he was doing even while in Government service. If the Andhra University profits from the work of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and shares in some measure his zeal and enthusiasm for learning, its prospects are bright indeed.

The relationship between the university authorities and a professor or a teacher of a university ought not to be tinged by any commercial view of the relationship of an employer and an employee, as that would destroy the prestige both of the professor and of the university. No university can be reared up merely on the basis of salaries or contractual terms. While no effort ought to be spared for securing a decent, comfortable and honourable existence to the professor or the teacher, it

cannot be too strongly insisted upon that it is the prestige that the professor or the teacher commands, the place accorded to him in society, the estimate and honour in which the professor or the teacher is held, more than the monetary value of his avocation, that count in the building up of healthy traditions and ideals. The Indian society and the Indian university must be permeated by the spirit of Ancient India which made a person bow in reverential awe to the learned and accord a pre-eminent place to the learned man and not to the plutocrat or the territorial magnate. The professor or teacher on his side should take care not to put himself in a mental attitude of daily comparison in material prosperity with successful members of competitive professions, the *entrepreneurs* of industry or the profiteers in business speculations. He must seek his true reward in the disinterested pursuit of learning and in the joy of training and moulding the future generation.

Not even in the most prosperous countries of the world can the income of a professor or teacher be compared to the remuneration earned by persons in other walks of life. The spirit of the true scholar is exhibited in the great Professors of Vienna who after the war while suffering from under-nourishment kept on to the last the love and pursuit of knowledge.

One word with regard to the selection of students to the university. Unless it becomes an accepted article of creed that higher university education is to be regarded as a privilege for special ability, there is absolutely no hope for the future of our universities. Selection based upon the communal principle cuts at the very root of real university life. The Government and the University must afford special facilities for such as have the skill but have not the means. By all means be dominated by the ideal of giving equal chance to every citizen and son of the soil, and in the inimitable language of Plato "Give the golden children of iron parents the chance to soar into the blue" but "in your zeal for equality do not destroy the element of quality."

There is one other note which I want to strike while I am on this subject. The university cannot too strongly impress upon its alumni the ideal of Brahmacharya renunciation and the grand simplicity of life which marked the student of Ancient India, the ideal which bears a striking similarity to the sentiments underlying the oft-quoted words of Lord Eldon : " Live like a hermit and work like a hore." If these ideals are kept in view, I am full of hope for the future of the Andhra University, of its becoming the centre of the intellectual life of its people. You may not be able to reproduce the traditions of Oxford or Cambridge rooted in centuries or to bring back to life the ancient universities of India. But you may make up for the want of tradition by a freshness, a new vigour and unspoiled enthusiasm.

I cannot close my remarks on the future of the Andhra University without making a passing reference to the political ferment in this country. It is vain to expect any orderly development or progress until normal conditions are restored. The country is looking forward to important constitutional changes and the advent of a new era. Great issues, fraught with momentous consequences to the East and to the West, are awaiting solution at the Conference opened by His Imperial Majesty. If only His Majesty's Government and the British nation approach the problem with courage, statesmanship and sympathy, if only the Indian Representatives stand up with one voice, I am full of hope that a settlement will be reached honourable to both the nations. Will they ?—is the great question of the hour. If so, a large volume of intellectual energy in the nation which is running to waste can be harnessed to the building up of a new India and the patriotic fervour, the spirit of sacrifice and renunciation running into other channels may be diverted for constructive work.

It only remains for me to tender a few words of advice to my young friends, the graduates of the year. My young friends, I hope you realise what your graduation means. It

is the hall-mark of your having received a liberal education, an education which must have imbued you with outlook and sympathies which enable you to break the bondage of narrow self-interest, sectarian, sectional, parochial and provincial prejudices. Your knowledge and training carry with them the largest responsibilities of citizenship. Some of you may enter the professions, some clerical or administrative posts, some may take to business and a few possibly may pursue higher knowledge. But whichever may be your walk of life it ought to be possible in daily life for one who comes in contact with the world to distinguish the university product from one who has not had the benefit of university education. Remember that you are the trustees and guardians of the reputation and prestige of this infant university.

The graduate of a university must realise that he is under a triple duty. He owes a duty to himself, a duty to those less fortunately circumstanced than himself, a duty to the society of which he is a member and to his country. As for himself, he must start life with the feeling that his education really commences with his degree. Education is a process, not a curriculum or the completion of a curriculum. The unfolding of the human mind is a continuous evolution and the search for the truth is never complete. Secondly, the educated man owes a duty to spread the light that is vouchsafed to him to others less fortunate than himself. He must put back into the pool a bit of what he has got. In the case of a good number of you, I know that your education is the result of supreme self-sacrifice on the part of your parents who had to stint even the necessities of life in order to give you an education of the support that has been extended to you by friends and by the State at the expense of the tax-payer. Realise that it is an accident that you have been given a chance in life which has been denied to most others similarly circumstanced like you. Thirdly, you must make a point of giving of your best to the service of your country and be able to help the development

of a higher type of society and you must be inspired by the lofty ideal of leaving the world at the end of your careers richer and better than you found it. While it is your duty to cultivate a lofty patriotism, while you may be zealous of your self-respect and a certain manliness in dealing with others, I appeal to you not to fall a victim to communal rancour or factious fight. In public life, beware you do not appeal to the lower instincts of your fellow beings; but cultivate a broad humanism which is above caste, creed and race. Do not develop an elastic conscience, one rule of conduct for public life and another for private life. Your country requires of you all that is best in you. Do not leave behind within the walls of the university the idealism of youth. Do realise that there is no greater asset to a man than force and strength of character. Do not be carried away by the glamour of evanescent success. If you study the lives of great men who have "left their foot-prints on the sands of time," you will find that it is not dazzling brilliance that counts but it is a certain steadfastness, doggedness and determination of purpose, a downright integrity and a reliableness in daily dealings that marked their career. In your daily life and conduct, proceed on the footing that life is a real and earnest affair and be guided by the famous lines in Lowell's Commemoration Ode in honour of Harvard's sons :

"Those love truth best who to themselves are true,
And what they dare to dream dare to do.
Some day the soft ideal that we wooed
Confronts us fiercely foe-beset pursued
And cries reproachful; was it then my prize
And not myself was loved. Prove now thy truth
I claim of thee the promise of thy youth."

I shall close my remarks with the memorable words of Lord Oxford to the students of the Aberdeen University :
"Keep always with you, whatever your course may, be the

company of great thoughts, the inspiration of great ideals, the example of great achievement, the consolation of great failures. So equipped, you can face without perturbation the buffets of circumstance, caprice of fortune, or the inscrutable vicissitudes of life."

HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY'S TRADE IN BENGAL IN THE TIME OF ALIVARDI (1740-1756.)

In 1740 Alivardi usurped the musnud of Bengal for himself, and under him Bengal again passed into the hands of a strong and vigorous ruler. Since the death of Murshid Kuli, the English trading company had carried on its trade, along with its servants and agents, according to its own interests; and latterly no royal orders or official pressure obstructed the progress of the Company's commerce. But with the accession of Alivardi the Company had to deal with a Nawab who was as strong as he was upright and who had a keen insight ¹ into the economic problems of his state. His attitude towards the Western trading companies was impartial and he did not like to exalt one at the expense of the other. He forbade "the English and the French from committing any hostilities against each other in his dominions during the war declared between the two nations in 1741; and in the year 1748, he, on some contempt of his authority attacked and drove the factor of the Ostend Company out of the river of Hughly, and he several times exacted money of the English, French and Dutch settlements alledging that they ought to contribute to the expenses, as they participated of the protection of his arms." ²

During his regime, the progress of the East India Company's trade in Bengal was not absolutely unhampered. The Company had to struggle hard against various odds and impediments, and had to pay much for ultimate mastery over the commerce of

¹ "..... he understood perfectly well the interests of his Government, favoured the poor merchant, and administered justice very fairly when complaints succeeded in reaching him." *Memoir by M. Jean Law; Hill's Bengal, 1756-57, Vol. III, p. 160.*

² *Orme, Indostan, Vol. II, pp. 45-46.*

Bengal. Firstly, it had to satisfy the Nawab, on more than one occasion, by the payment of large sums of money and various other presents; secondly, the plunderings and ravages of the Marathas exercised a great influence on its trade; thirdly, it was sometimes harassed by some of the native Zemindars; and lastly, the rebellion of the Nawab's Afghan generals indirectly affected its trade to some extent.

In the year 1740, when Nawab Alivardi had advanced towards Orissa in pursuit of Baquir Ali, the son-in-law of Murshid Kuli, the Governor of Orissa, he demanded from the Company "vessels to cruise about Ballasore and the coast of Orixia (Orissa) saying he would be revenged on the 3 Nations if his "Enemys Escaped threatening to plunder all the Factory's." ¹ In the same year, men in the Cassimbazar Factory were obliged to pay the Nawab a visit which cost them Rs. 17,051, besides Rs. 11,600 paid to his officers. ² In 1744 the Nawab accused the English of helping his enemies (the Marathas), and made an extraordinary demand on those at Cassimbazar, setting forth that "the English (who now) carried on the Trade of the whole World, used (formerly) to have 4 or 5 ships, but now brought 40 or 50 sail, which belonged not to the company....." ³ He ordered them to refrain from carrying on their business at any place unless they had supplied him with two months' pay for his troops amounting to three million rupees. At this the Englishmen in the Cassimbazar Factory sent vakils to Fatechand soliciting his advice in the matter. Fatechand advised them to make up matters quickly with the Nawab. The authorities in Calcutta gave them liberty to offer the Nawab from 40,000 to 50,000 rupees using Fatechand's and Chainray's (?) good offices. ⁴

¹ Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 11th Dec., 1741, para. 128. Imperial Record Dept. (Home Miscellaneous).

² *Ibid*, para. 131.

³ Letter to the Court, 3rd August, 1744, para. 24, I.R.D. (H.M.)

⁴ *Ibid*.

But they did not venture to offer only Rs. 50,000 to the Nawab, and Fatechand said¹ that "if empowered to offer five (lacs) he would endeavour to prevail on the Nawab to accept it, that the French and Dutch had already agreed to pay their share on the Nabob's settling with the English, adding that in Shuja Dault's² time a much larger sum was paid...." The Company's business at Dacca and Patna had also been stopped,³ and the Nawab sent horse and foot soldiers to the "gurrah" aurungs.⁴ He threatened to take up the Company's merchants one by one; Preet Cotmah, one of the Company's Gomasthas, was tortured till he agreed to pay Rs. 1,35,000 and was delivered to another tormentor to make him agree to 3 lacs more; Narsingdas, a dadney merchant's gomastha, was similarly tormented; Bally Cotmah sought protection in Cassimbazar and Kebabram, a Cassimbazar merchant, was seized. The Council in Calcutta now ordered the chief of the Cassimbazar Factory to offer Rs. 1,00,000 to the Nawab, and accordingly their vakils were sent to the Nawab's Durbar. But the Nawab told them that "the English carried on the Trade of the whole country, yet paid no customs (and) secreted many of the Riots." The Nawab, moreover, demanded that Bally Cotmah should be delivered up to him "threatening to surround all the Factorys and prevent them getting provisions and if that did not make them comply with his demand (then he) would seize all their Money and Goods at the Aurungs." When the matter was again referred to Fatechand and Chinary, they told the Company's vakils that the Nawab "would not be content with Two or Three Lack (lac) being obliged to get sufficient to pay the troops even at the Risque of his life; the Military officers were impatient and daily importuned him to give orders to fall on the English and the

¹ *Ibid.*, paras. 26 and 27.

² Shuja Adden Khan.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 8th November, 1744, para. 3, I.R.D. (H.M.).

Letter to the Court, dated 8th Nov. 1744, para. 3, I.R.D. (H.M.)

Aurungs''¹ They, therefore, advised the Company to offer speedily what might satisfy the Nawab. After considering the pros and cons of the matter, and apprehending a general loss of investments, the authorities in Calcutta resolved to solicit Seaid Hamud Cawn (Syed Ahmed Khan, a nephew of the Nawab and Fauzder of Hugli) at Hugli by paying him a large sum of money, to intercede for them before the Nawab. Syed Ahmed Khan promised to "procure Perwannas for the currency of Business for four Lack of Rupees." But he could not make good his promise, and so the President wrote to Mr. Forster on the 28th August directing him to finish the affair at Murshidabad "on the best terms he can within the compass of Proposal to Seiad Hamet." ² At last, the Chief of the Factory at Cassimbazar came to a settlement with the Nawab in the month of September by agreeing to pay him three lacs and a half. Fatechand brought to the Factory, "Perwannas for the Company's business at Hugly, Patna, Dacca, and all the 'Aurungs'; he brought also all the gomasthas fetch (*i. e.* arrested) from Malda and a receipt signed by the Omichand's Gomastha for the money he had received back and the obligation given by him for 40,000 rupees and three obligations signed by the Malda Gomastha for a lack of rupees and Two for 5,000 each... "for which he received, in return, an Interest Note for Rs. 3,50,000." ³ During these troubles the Company's trade suffered much, as the Cassimbazar Factory and the other subordinate factories could not properly fill in the investments, ⁴ and also the imported goods could not be satisfactorily disposed of. ⁵ Besides these, the Cassimbazar factory was obliged to pay Rs. 30,500 to the Nawab's General and officers in the month of

¹ *Ibid*, para. 5, (I.R.D.—H.M.)

² *Ibid*, para. 10.

³ Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 8th November, 1744, para. 12 (I.R.D.—H.M.)

⁴ *Ibid*, para. 13.

⁵ *Ibid*, para. 17.

October.¹ A fine horse was also presented to the Nawab, which cost 2,500 Madras rupees. The Patna factory had to present Rs. 5,000 to the Nawab and Rs. 3,000 to his officers, and had to sign a paper as to the rent of Chupra town at Rs. 4,537-9-6.² The Dacca Factory was also obliged to pay Rs. 5,000.³

In 1748 a serious conflict took place between the Nawab and the English Company, as the latter had seized some trading vessels of the Armenian and Mogul merchants.⁴ The Armenians and the Moguls complained to the Nawab, who at once sent a perwannah to Governor Barwell to the following effect :—"The Syads, Moghuls, Armenians, etc., merchants of Houghly have complained that laks of Goods and Treasure with their ships you have seized and plundered, and I am informed from foreign parts that ships bound to Houghley you seized on under pretence of their belonging to the French. The ship belonging to Antony with laks on Board from Mochel, and several curiosities sent me by the Sheriff of that place on that ship you have also seized and plundered. These merchants are the Kingdom's benefactors, their Imports and Exports are an advantage to all men, and their complaints are so grievous that I cannot forbear any longer giving ear to them. As you were not permitted to commit piracies therefore I now write you that on receipt of this you deliver up all the Merchants' Goods, and effects to them as also what appertains unto me, otherwise you may be assured a due chastisement in such manner as you least expect."⁵ The Company's Governor in Calcutta replied that the goods were seized by a King's ship over which he had no control, and that the French,

¹ Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 9th February 1745, para. 76,—(I.R. D. H.M). Mr. Forster paid a visit to the Nawab and was received graciously; the President also received a Seerpow (Head-dress) and an elephant.

² *Ibid*, paras. 77-78.

³ *Ibid*, para. 79.

⁴ Consultations, May 15, June 1 and July 13, 1748.

⁵ Consultations, January 11, 1749 A.D.

who were at war with the *English*, seized Armenians' goods as belonging to an enemy.¹

But this could not satisfy the Nawab. He had already adopted repressive measures against the *English* traders in their different factories. He had ordered peons on all their Gomasthas at the 'Aurungs' and had stopped the boats which were bringing down their goods.² Waldham Brooke, Chief of Council at Cassimbazar, wrote a letter to the Board in Calcutta on the 2nd January, 1749, informing that "a Chubdar from the Nawab came to their factory with a perwannah for the Hon'ble President, copy whereof is enclosed with an inventory of the cargoes of the two ships of which restitution is required, not only in regard to them but of things of value belonging to the Nawab. That this perwannah probably may be sent to stop the clamours of the Armenians for it is thought upon the present exigency of affairs that the Nabab will not pursue violent measures, but that he may be kept in temper upon pretty easy terms, at least till a more favourable opportunity offers. That he has heard of a fine Arab Horse that is to be disposed of in Calcutta, which it is believed will be very acceptable to him. That they have pressing demands made on them for an annual present of 3,600 siccas to Hodjee (Haji Ahmed)³ that used to be given him on account of the sugar Aurungs, which though it does not concern the company must be complied before they expect a currency to business."⁴ In reply to his letter, the authorities in Calcutta informed him that they would support his plan of keeping the Nawab easy if it could be done on reasonable terms, and sent him the horse for presenting it to

¹ I.R.D., Bengal and Madras papers, Vol. II.

² Despatch to Court, January 27, para. 11, 1748 A.D.

³ The Nawab's brother.

⁴ Consultations, January 9, 1749 A.D.

the Nawab at a convenient opportunity.¹ Worse than these, positive orders from Murshidabad had reduced the Company's trade at Dacca and Juddea² to a critical state. The condition of the Dacca and Juddea civilians had become extremely woeful for want of common subsistence, as all supplies had been stopped by the Nawab's officers. A letter from the Council of Dacca stated, "That they had received information of the Durbar's, not only having taken Mutchullacas (written agreements) from all the Tradesmen and Podars, not to have any transactions with them, but from the Moodys (grocers) not to supply them with necessaries and provisions, which occasioning a kind of mutiny amongst their soldiers and peons, the Chief and Council was obliged to send a message, that if provisions were stopped they must get them wherever they could, for it was better to die fighting than starving, upon which a small allowance was suffered to be brought in, but they expect in a day or two all provisions will be cut off when there will be mutiny not only on that account but on account of their arrears which they have not wherewithal to pay."³ About this time the English merchants and gomasthas at Maldah complained that some of the Nawab's people had treated them very unjustly for refusing to comply with their demands for large sums of money. On receipt of this news, the Board informed Nawazish Mahammed Cown and Chamerage (?) about this and requested them to write to the Nawab for a remedy, "to which they answered that they should be very willing to comply with their request but apprehended the

¹ Despatch to Court, January 27, 1748 A.D. Similarly in 1754, the company sent to the Nawab a present of a fine Persian horse and some fine wax work and also made some presents to the Faujdar of Hugh and his dewan Nand Kumar. Cf. "The Hon'ble Company having directed a good understanding to be kept up with the Officers of the Durbar, and as we are of opinion a present bestowed at this juncture would be of great service to the Company's affairs in preventing the Durbar from making use of any frivolous pretence for a stoppage of our business." Consultations, December 20, 1751 A.D.

² Despatch to Court, February 11, 1748 A.D.

³ Consultations, January 23, 1749 A.D.

Nawab's affairs were in such a state at that time that their writing to him would avail but little.''¹ Thus reduced to straits, the English tried to propitiate the Nawab in various ways. According to the directions of the Council in Calcutta, sent on the 2nd of March, 1749, the Englishmen in the Cassimbazar Factory solicited the help of Hookum Beg and the Seths for a satisfactory settlement of the dispute with the Nawab, but they were told in reply that "without a present to the Nabab it would be impossible to obtain a clearance to business."

Carooly Beg came to the Cassimbazar Factory and told the Englishmen there that "the Nawab expected they would satisfy the Armenians without further delay and for the present has ordered two hundred Buxeries² to be quartered on that Factory, that he himself was come as a mediator between them and the Armenians, and would do them all the good offices in his powers."³ The authorities in Calcutta wrote to Wadham Brooke, Chief of the Cassimbazar Factory, to "find out the Nabab's views and ends in endeavouring thus to the distress to the Company's affairs"; and also to ascertain what would satisfy him.⁴ The Chief replied on the 24th of April, 1749, that, according to the advice of Carooly Beg, he desired the authorities in Calcutta to procure a paper signed by the Armenians who resided there, by way of an address from them to the Nawab, expressing therein their satisfaction at what they (the English) had done.⁵ He also informed them that the general opinion of the Nawab's distressing the Company's affairs was that he wanted a sum of money from each party and also it was thought some time before that about Rs. 50,000 rupees would

¹ Consultations, May 2, 1748 A.D.

² The buxeries were matchlockmen, who were employed on duties similar to those performed by the barkandazes of a later period.

³ Letter to the Court of Directors, 10th August, 1749.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Consultations, 4th May, 1749; Letter to the Court of Directors, 10th August, 1749.

compose matters ; but he declared his opinion that, before they could come to any certainty in regard to what he wanted, offers must be first made on their side.¹ Accordingly the Council in Calcutta ordered its Secretary "to draw up a paper for the Armenians to sign when translated into Persian," and informed the Chief at Cassimbazar that it would be forwarded to him as soon as the Armenians had signed thereto.² The Armenians were asked to sign the address to the Nawab, as drawn by the Company's Secretary, when they attended the Board on the 1st June, 1749, but they declared their unwillingness to do so.³ The Council then informed Mr. Wadham Brooke, the Chief of the Cassimbazar Factory, about the refusal of the Armenians, and also about their (the English) writing to Mr. Kelsall, at Ballasore, for endeavouring to procure from the Nawab (who then at Ballasore in pursuit of the Marathas) a clearance to their business. He was further directed to use his best endeavours "to procure such a clearance either through the Nabob's favour, or else on easy terms," and for that purpose, he was permitted to offer as far as 15,000 or 20,000 rupees.⁴ The Chief of the Cassimbazar Factory replied on the 14th June that he had applied to the Seths and Biramdutt (?), who told him that nothing could be done till the Nawab's return to Murshidabad. He also expressed his opinion that 15,000 or 20,000 rupees would be insufficient (if the Nawab should favour them so far

¹ *Ibid.*

² Letter to the Court of Directors, 10th August, 1749.

³ *Ibid.* ; Consultations, 1st June, 1749. When the Armenians refused to sign the address, and thus destroyed all hopes of accommodating the matter with the Nawab, the President asked the opinion of the Board as to how they should proceed with them. The majority decided to inform the Armenians that if the English were compelled to pay any sum to the Nawab and if the Armenians refused to repay the same, then they would be expelled from Calcutta after the expiry of two months. The Armenians were accordingly called in and acquainted therewith. Mr. William Kempe, however, gave it as his opinion "the staying two months may impede the Company's business, so far as to prevent our getting a tonnage for the shipping; therefore they ought to be forced to satisfy the Nubab immediately."

⁴ *Ibid.*

as to take nothing for himself) for the forces put over them, and hence requested that he might know the utmost extent of what the Company was ready to pay the Nawab in order "to expedite this business as soon as possible upon the Nawab's arrival."¹

In the meanwhile, Mr. Kelsall had approached the Nawab at Ballasore on the 9th June and had handed over to him the President's letter,² using every possible argument to convince him "how prejudicial this stoppage of business would be to his revenues as well as (to) the Company." The Nawab at last told him that he would befriend the English on his return to Murshidabad, and desired him to "transport his (the Nawab's) ammunition and cannon to Calcutta with the greatest expedition, the roads being so bad, he could not carry them with him."³

On the Nawab's return to Murshidabad on the 7th August, 1749, the Chief of the Cassimbazar Factory sent 'vacquels' (representatives) to wait on him. He asked the 'vacquels' if they had procured the "Randjee-Nomma," i.e., the deed of agreement from

¹ Consultations, 19 June, 1749. Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 10th August, 1749.

² The President's letter to the Nawab :—

"The bad consequences attending our Company's affair are from the unjust complaints of the Armenians and others to your Excellency, is beyond expression. To add still more to our misfortune, the hardships we suffer from the forces on our Cassimbazar Factory, is without precedent, distressing us in our credit as well as in every other manner the most disobliging, by which it appears the complaints act rather as open enemies to our country than humble petitioners for justice with your Excellency, they well knowing the Company are not aggressors nor was it in our power to prevent the accidents that have happened, which I have before taken the liberty to remonstrate to your Excellency that had they been in any manner concerned therein, I would have taken care. You should not have been troubled with any complaints, but should have complied with whatever had been agreeable to your Excellency's justice. As the case now is we have very particularly advised our Company thereof, and the great favour you are pleased to show these people. But it requires a length of time before we can have an answer: humbly request your Excellency will permit the Company's affairs to go on in the usual manner without any further molestation." Consultations, 6th July, 1749.

³ Consultations, 19th June, 1749 A.D. ; Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 10th August, 1749 A.D.

the Armenians in Calcutta. To this they replied in the negative with the remark that the Armenians did not make any such declaration for fear of being obliged thereby to pay the choute (?).¹ The Nawab said that "he would give them a 'Mutchlaca' under his own hand not to take a rupee from them and asked them if Mr. Kelsall was arrived agreeable to a promise made him when at Balasore and spoke much in that gentleman's commendation."² This attitude of the Nawab led the Chief of the Cassimbazar Factory to think that Mr. Kelsall would be the most 'acceptable' and proper person to finish the matter, and so, on the 10th of August, he wrote to the authorities in Calcutta to send him immediately to the Nawab. The authorities promptly sent him to the Nawab's Durbar.³ He was very handsomely received there, and availed himself of that opportunity to present a petition to the Nawab, setting forth in the strongest terms possible, "the Company's great sufferings since the business was first stopped, and the little foundation the Armenians had for this complaint, wherewith the Company had nothing to do."⁴ But this did not produce the desired effect; for after perusing it, the Nawab replied that the Armenians must be satisfied.⁵ The gentlemen at Cassimbazar then proceeded to 'Hookum Beg' and 'Caroolley Beg,' who really controlled the whole matter, and by agreeing to offer as far as 15,000 or 20,000 rupees to the Nawab, they requested them to settle it favourably for the Company's business.⁶ But these two men, being of an extremely mercenary temper and intending to squeeze out some money for themselves also rejected their (the gentlemen in the Cassimbazar Factory) offer

¹ It is not clear what is referred to by this word "choute;" perhaps the frequent incursions of the Marathas had familiarised the people with this term and it was loosely used for any kind of contribution.

² Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 10th August, 1749 A.D.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Consultations, 31st August, 1749 A.D.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Consultations, 31st August, 1749 A.D.

“as being far short of what the Nawab would expect.” Matters became, day by day, too serious to be long deferred, as the English at Cassimbazar were informed that the Nawab would shortly increase the forces placed over their factory if his demands were not speedily satisfied.¹ They wrote to the Council in Calcutta on the 11th September, 1749, that on Mr. Eyles’ (who had succeeded Mr. Wadham Brooke as the Chief of the Cassimbazar Factory) arrival at Murshidabad, they were informed that “nothing less than four lacks of rupees would satisfy the Nawab for what the Armenians, etc., had suffered by the capture of the two ships ; but on giving Hookem Beg and Carooley Beg to understand no great sum on such unjust a pretence would ever be complied with, and standing it out with them they have reduced to two lakhs which Hookem Beg tell them the Nawab will certainly insist on. But notwithstanding this they still believe that by standing out longer it may in time be brought down to one laak (lac), besides 25 (25,000) or 30,000 rupees to Hookem Beg and officers, and lower than this they think it will be hardly possible to reduce it without undergoing the disadvantages of losing the whole season.”²

The Nawab sent Carooley Beg to the Cassimbazar Factory to sound the intentions of the English “with regard to making up the present dispute.” The English complained, as before, of the injustice of the Armenians’ demands, and expressed their inability to pay enormous sums to the Nawab. But they promised to reward the services of Hookem Beg and Carooley Beg, if they represented “the case favourably to the Nawab and use their interest to make it up on easy terms.”³ Carooley Beg promised “to employ his whole interests to finish it in the best manner he could.”⁴ The English further wrote to the Seths,

¹ *Ibid.*

² Consultations, 12th September, 1749 A.D.

³ Consultations, 18th September, 1749 A.D.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Gulam Hussain and other officers of the Nawab's Durbar, requesting them to use their influence in favour of the Company.¹ But Caroolley Beg was too greedy to be easily satisfied, and "finding it impossible to persuade Caroolley Beg to accept their offer of a laak of rupees (1,00,000), he having received the Nabob's orders for insisting on one laak and Rs. 20,000, they (the gentlemen in the Cassimbazar Factory) agreed to pay the same on Caroolley Beg's promising to procure them the Perwannahs as soon as the Dusserah² was over, but the Nabob being confined to his room by sickness prevented Caroolley Beg's gaining access to him."³ Apprehending that any further delay might greatly add to the distress of the Company's trade in Bengal, they sent their Vakils to Hookum Beg and Caroolley Beg to enquire whether the Nabob's order could not be obtained by writing to him that they had consented to comply with his demand. But these two men replied that "as the complaints of the Armenians made great noise at Muxadavad, the Nabob first of all required them to appear before all the Durbar whilst he was present and publicly acknowledge themselves to be satisfied for their losses..."⁴

After his recovery, the Nawab held a Durbar in the night of the 15th October, 1749, when the Armenians were present and expressed their satisfaction in regard to their losses due to the English.⁵ The Nabob then gave orders publicly for a currency to the Company's business, and for removing the forces from their factory. But when the Durbar was over Hookum Beg gave them to understand that "before these orders could be executed, the Rs. 1,20,000 must be paid on security given for it..."⁶ This caused a new difficulty for the Company, for

¹ *Ibid.*

² The Durga Puja festival, which is celebrated in Bengal in the month of October.

³ Consultations, 18th October, 1749.

⁴ Consultations, 18th October, 1749.

⁵ Consultations, 20th October, 1749.

⁶ *Ibid.*

they had been already suffering from great pecuniary want. Moreover, the Seths adopted a strong attitude and at first expressed their unwillingness to lend any further amount to the Company. After the Company's servants had made various expostulations and requests, they assured them that something should be paid out of the "first money that come up." But when the English represented to them strongly that they would suffer a heavy loss if their business was not immediately cleared, they sent their Gomastah Ruydass to Cassimbazar in order to talk further about it. Ruydass complained heavily that the English had not paid that season anything of the large debt that they owed to his masters for the Cassimbazar Factory, and told them "that they (his master) could not let them have the money unless they would promise to pay them three lacks of rupees as soon as their boats come up." But they declared their inability to answer that question without first writing to their authorities in Calcutta, whereupon he "demanded of them to give up a Bill of Exchange they had on his master's house for 23,000 Sicca rupees, the four chests of bullion remaining in their Treasury" and to draw a bill directly on their authorities in Calcutta for two lacs of rupees (2,00,000). Finding no other alternative, they agreed to it when Ruydas promised to advance one lac and 50,000 rupees.¹ Thus they were able to procure money in order to satisfy the Nawab for carrying on their trade.²

In the year 1751 a new danger threatened English trade in the river Hugli. In that year two Englishmen, Messrs. Acton and Mills, under the protection of the Germans, appeared between Chandernagar and Hugli, with three ships of war, hoisting German colours. This gave a great offence to the Nawab, who

¹ Consultations, 20th October, 1749 A.D.

² Cf.—"The Presidency of Calcutta not complying with his demands on the first summons, he more than once stopped their trade; however, all they paid from his accession did not exceed 100,000 pounds sterling; which on an average was not $\frac{1}{2}$ two in a hundred on the amount of their investments to the end of the war." Orme's *Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 46.

immediately wrote to Mr. Dawson, the President of the Council, asking him to take precautionary measures and to drive out those German ships of war. To this Mr. Dawson replied on the 19th August, 1751 "that he had given orders to the pilots not to take charge of any of the Alleman ships or show them the way on any account, and do not doubt but that the Dutch and French have done the same. God forbid that they should come this way, but should this be the case, I am in hopes that through your uprightness they will be either sunk, broke or destroyed."¹

The Mahratta invasions of Bengal also exercised a great influence on the Company's trade. Historian Orme says, "The Marattoes during the war made only one considerable depredation on the English trade. This was in the year 1748, when they stopped a fleet of boats coming from Cossimbazar to Calcutta, and plundered it of 300 bales of raw silk belonging to the Company. But the advantages of the European Commerce in general were much impaired by the distress of the province, which enhanced the prices and debased the fabrics of all kinds of manufactures."² His statement is fully corroborated by contemporary Records of the Company.

In May, 1742, the Marathas entered Murshidabad and plundered the houses of Jagat Seth and others, which put a stop to all business, the Merchants and weavers flying wherever they came."³ The Company found it greatly difficult to provide 'Gurrahs' for their investments, and the quality of raw silk and silk piece-goods also went down, for the "weavers and Inhabitants fled, silk often carried away wet (wet) and on the Reels, and piece-goods before manufactured, the one wound off and the other finished in utmost hurry and confusion."⁴ The

¹ Consultations, August 19, 1751 A.D.

² Orme, Vol. II, p. 46.

³ Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 31st July, 1742, para 10, I.R.D. (H.M.).

⁴ Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 8th January, 1742, para. 61, I.R.D.(H.M.).

Cassimbazar, being in the "centre of all the Troubles in the country" was most seriously affected.

prices of cotton, silk, and other provisions became exceedingly dear and the merchants were unable to supply the Company with goods in Calcutta.¹ The second Maratha invasion, which begun in February 1743, was also "attended with all the unhappy consequences of the last, their rout much the same, nothing but towns were actually burnt. The Nabob's troops also plundered greatly so that the people deserted the Aurungs where Gurrahs are made, and an entire stop was put to business for some time at Calcutta, Cassimbazar and Patna."² The Company suffered much loss in its 'Dadney' money advanced to the merchants, because the latter could not pay anything in exchange nor could they return the money.³ In June 1745, the Marathas renewed their ravages with vigour, which occasioned great confusion and prevented the progress of the Company's business at several 'Aurungs.'⁴ This time they entered through Behar (*via* Patna), plundered Futwah and pillaged 4,200 pieces of cloth belonging to the Company; they also burnt a go-down wherein 7,168 maunds of saltpetre was deposited. Thus, in that season, the Company could not get any supply of saltpetre from Patna.⁵ The advance of the Marathas up to Katwah⁶ and their encampment near the 'Gurrah' aurungs prevented the Company from providing 'Gurrahs' in sufficient quantity, so that they could get only 12,151 pieces of the 60,000 pieces contracted for the year 1745.⁷ While on the 8th August, 1746,

¹ Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 15th February, 1742, paras. 17 and 18 and 20; Letter to the Court, dated 13th August, 1743, para. 11; letter to the Court, dated 3rd February, 1743, paras. 67 and 91 and 105; Letter to the Court, dated 3rd August, 1744, para. 8; Letter to the Court, 4th February, 1745/46, para. 34, I.R.D. (H.M.).

² Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 13th August, 1742, para. 10, I.R.D. (H.M.).

³ Letter to the Court, dated 3rd February, 1743, para. 69, I.R.D. (H.M.).

⁴ Letter to the Court, dated 11th August, 1745, para. 9, I.R.D. (H.M.).

⁵ Letter to the Court, dated 31st January, 1745/6, paras. 111-114, I.R.D. (H.M.).

⁶ For details, *vide* Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 537, and my chapter on "The Marathas in Bengal."

⁷ Letter to the Court, dated 4th February, 1745/46, para. 16, I.R.D. (H.M.); "Am sorry cannot send the quantity of Gurrahs ordered. Morattoes situation on the Island of Cossimbazar preventing all Intercourse and no goods received since these people have been there." Letter to the Court, dated 22nd February, 1745/46, para. 19, I.R.D. (H.M.).

the Company had been considering the merchants' balances for the last year (1745), there "appeared due to them exclusive of their Gurrah contract 20,9562⁸ rupees and there appeared due from them on their contract for Gurrah 1742 rupees 16149.12.9." ¹ On being demanded a reasonable explanation for thus keeping the Company's money so long in their hands, the merchants replied that they could not comply with the contracts as "the Marattoes were chiefly in that part of the country where the Gurrabs are provided." ² Similarly when the Chief of the Cassimbazar Factory demanded a penalty of 10 per cent. on the "balance of silk and silk piecegoods" due from the merchants, the latter represented that they had laboured that year (1745) under great difficulties and had sustained heavy losses on account of the presence of the Marathas in that part of the country, for which they hoped to be excused. ³

The long stay of the Marathas also occasioned a great scarcity of money, as the shroffs and wealthy people had transported their money and bullion across the Ganges for fear of plunder. ⁴ The President of the Council in Calcutta was, hence, obliged to write to their gentlemen at Fort St. George on the 5th of May, 1746, for sending down to Calcutta all the money that had arrived for them, and "as much more as they could spare from their necessary occasions." In response to this, the Madras authorities sent to Calcutta per 'the Phazel Salam' on the 30th June, 1746, ten chests of rupees amounting to 86,000 and a box of gold molurs containing 432. ⁵ The President and Council at Bombay were similarly addressed ⁶ on the 13th May, 1746, for sending down to Calcutta whatever they could spare and they accordingly despatched some quantity of bullion. Thus

¹ Letter to the Court, dated 30th November, 1746, paras. 7 and 9, I.R.D. (H.M.).

² Letter to the Court, 30th November 1741, paras. 7 and 9.

³ Letter to the Court, 30th November, 1746, para. 14, I.R.D. (H.M.).

⁴ *Ibid*, para. 63.

⁵ *Ibid*.

⁶ *Ibid*, para. 51.

with the supply of money from Madras and Bombay, the Company could somehow manage to carry on its trade in Bengal during the crisis of the Maratha invasions.

The Marathas did not move from Cassimbazar till March, 1747, and the Chief of the Cassimbazar Factory wrote to the Council in Calcutta that "the Marattoes still continuing near them makes it impossible to send the bales down with safety."¹ The Resident at Balasore also wrote to the Council on the 25th January, 1747, that the encampment of Meer Habib at a distance of two miles from Balasore with 8,000 horses and 20,000 foot soldiers had put an entire stop to, the Company's investment at that Factory because "all the workmen had run away and the washermen were taken up to labour for Meerhabib so that a great deal of cloth lies ready at the weaver's house and cannot be dressed."² In 1748 a large body of Marathas tried to approach Dacca by way of the Sunderbunds and had advanced right up to Sundra Col (Sundra Khal).³ They plundered the goods of the Dacca Factory, then in charge of Ensign English. The conduct of Ensign English, for his failure to defend the goods, entrusted to his care, was greatly stigmatised by the Council in a letter to Cassimbazar; he was subsequently imprisoned, tried by a courtmartial and cashiered,⁴ in 1751 a letter from Cassimbazar stated that "the dearness of raw silk and silk piecegoods for some years past, they find, is owing to the Mahrattas constantly entering Bengal, plundering and burning the people's houses and destroying the chief Aurungs from whence the workmen have fled to distant parts, and not to any malpractice in the gentlemen there".⁵ In the same year, Mr. Henry Kelsall, Resident at Bulrumgurry, informed the

¹ Letter to Court, 22nd February, 1747, para. 92, I. R. D. (H. M.).

² *Ibid*, para. 110.

³ Perhaps one of the creeks with which the Sunderbunds abound.

⁴ Consultations, March, 1748.

⁵ Consultations, December 9, 1751 A. D.; Despatch to Court, January 2, 1752 A. D.

Council that the disturbances created by the return of the Mahrattas in that year had made him unable to purchase any 'readymoney goods,' as the weavers or the greatest part of them had been obliged to abscond¹. A similar complaint was made by Mr. McGuire from Balumghurry, in the year 1753 A.D.²

The Company made some attempts to obtain a redress for their losses caused by the plunderings of the Mahrattas ; but all their attempts ended in smoke. According to the request of the Calcutta authorities, Mr. Wake, the President of the Council at Bombay, sent a messenger to Sahu Raja with a prayer for redeeming the aforesaid losses of the Company in Bengal, but the messenger returned "without any written answer from him (Sahu Raja)" and "his trifling excuses" extinguished all hopes of redress.³

By the year 1752, Nawab Ali Vardi Khan became pacified with the English traders and issued a Parwannah in favour of their trade on the 8th October, 1752.⁴ But the Company had also to offer some petty disturbances at the hands of a few native Zemindars. Already there had been many such cases. In 1741 Mr. Henry Campion came from Bencoolen on 'Princess Augusta' with two Europeans and some 'Lascars,' who went on shore for water and provisions. The Raja of Conica (Kanika) detained them and demanded 2,000 rupees, a piece of scarlet

¹ Despatch to Court, February 5, 1751 A. D.

² Consultations, February 1, 1753 A. D.

³ Consultations, November, 1748 ; Letter to Court, 27th January, 1749, Letter to Court, 10th August, 1749.

⁴ "Of all merchants, the greatest and the picture of friendship, Mr. Drake, Governor of the English Company, whom God preserved.

"By the favour of the Almighty the bright eyes and soul of Nawab Munsoor An Mullick Bahadur, arrived at Muxadavad on the 24th Secandar Son Paunch; your friendship, praises, presents and going to meet him, he has told me a great deal about so much that I cannot express it. I am extremely pleased and delighted with you and a thousand times remain sensible of it and in return by the grace of God the Company's business, I will be very favourable to." Consultations, Oct. 11, 1752 A. D.

cloth, and a gold watch for their release; the Company had to satisfy his demand for releasing its own men.¹ In 1745 the Company's merchants at Malda complained that the "Troubles and extortions of Government ruined numbers of weavers, (and) provisions (became) excessive dear;" so they prayed for advance payments.² On the 5th May, 1746, Mr. Heath at Balasore wrote to the authorities in Calcutta for sending down to him a party of twenty soldiers for the protection of the factory there, against "the insolence of the country Government."³ His request was complied with on the 22nd May. The same year, in the month of November, the Patna Factory also experienced great difficulties, and met with extortions at the hands of Haji Ahmed, who had demanded large presents.⁴ The Englishmen in that Factory tried their best to avoid any payment of money, but all their arguments were fruitless; and, at last, they had to buy off a clearance to their business by paying two thousand rupees to Haji Ahmed.⁵ In 1748 some merchants of the Company had "goods coming down on their Dadney contracts which were stopped at Hajiruhattce (?) by Rajah Aunooapanian (?) one body whereof was stolen and that the Zemindar suspected of the action is gone to Muxadavad" and again in the same year, the Pultah (Fultah) Zemindar had stopped several boats with English dustucks and had realised money from the merchants.⁶

In 1754 Rajebullubh, on becoming the Nawab of Dacca, peremptorily demanded the usual visit from the Dacca Factors. The French having compounded it for Rs. 4,300, the English

¹ Letter to the Court, dated 11th January, 1742, para. 189, I. R. D. (H. M.)

² Letter to the Court, dated 11th August, 1745, I. R. D. (H. M.)

³ Letter to the Court, 22nd February, 1746-47, para. 97, I. R. D. (H. M.)

⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 106.

⁵ *Ibid.*, para. 107.

⁶ Consultations, April, 1748 A. D.

also thought it prudent to do the same rather than have their trade stopped. Just the next year, he sent orders to Backergunge to stop all boats that might pass that way, upon which the Dacca Factors immediately despatched a light boat with orders to all the Company's boats to proceed by the way of Tantalea.¹ But fearing that the boat might not overtake them as also that there might likewise be people sent to Tantalea, they sent an express letter to the Board for their protection.² The Board decided to "despatch Lieutenant John Harding on a command of soldiers of 25 Buxaries in order to clear these boats if stopped in their way to Dacca and to take them under his protection." Several rice boats, belonging to the Company, were also stopped at Dacca, and this occasioned a great scarcity and dearness of rice in that place." The same year, in the month of April, the factors in the Jugdea Factory were subjected to many insults at the hands of the native Government there, which passed public orders that "no person there shall serve the Factory, and actually seized those who offered to serve it." The factors had, in their defence, used force with the native Government there, but apprehending that it might cause inconvenience to their business, they requested the Board that they might get proper justice for them by causing a "representation to be made to the Durbar of the affair they have mentioned to us ; as also of the almost continual rascality of their Government there, which, if not curbed in some effectual manner will make the conducting their business in a proper manner impossible."⁴ Next year Jasarat Khan, the Naib of Dacca, seized the Dacca Factory under the orders of Sirajuddaulah and imprisoned the factors. The factory was not restored to the Company till 1757.

¹ Letter to Court, 1st March, 1745.

² Consultations, February 12, 1755 A. D.

³ Consultations, February 12, 1755 A. D.

⁴ Consultations, May 5, 1755 A. D.

In 1755 Raja Tilak Chand of Burdwan,¹ stopped the Company's business within his jurisdiction by putting 'chowkees' upon all the Company's factories there and imprisoning the Company's gomasthas. The Board regarded this as an extremely insolent and unwarrantable step and decided that the President should "prepare and address to the Nawab, and send up a chubdar immediately with it, complaining of the Rajah's insolence and unwarranted proceedings in stopping the Honorable Company's business transacted in his Provinces and seizing their effects, and that he insisted upon a proper reprimand being sent to the Rajah and the usual currency given to our affairs at the Aurungs situated in his jurisdiction."² This representation to the Nawab proved effective, as he immediately ordered the Burdwan Raja to remove all restraints upon the Company's trade.³ In 1757 some Zamindars near Maldah and Soonamooky illtreated the Company's Gomasthas

¹ The cause of the misunderstanding was this :—Ramjiban Kaviraj, a gomastha of the Burdwan Raja, owed Rs. 6,357 to Mr. John Wood. The latter, failing to secure the payment of the amount, laid a complaint against Ramjiban in the Mayor's Court, and having obtained a warrant of sequestration against him, he sealed up the Raja's house and effects in Calcutta. This gave a great offence to the Raja, who immediately ordered the stoppage of Company's trade within his dominions by imprisoning their Gomasthas and putting 'chowkees' upon their Factories. Consultations, April, 1, 1755 A.D.

² *Ibid.*

³ The Nawab's letter to the Burdwan Raja :—

"I received an Arassdoss from the English Governor in which he acquaints me that the Gomastha Ramjeebun Cubbrage being indebted to an Englishman, they had set peons upon your house agreeable to their custom, for which reasons you have put chowkeys upon all the company's Factories within your districts and stopped their business, imprisoning their Gomasthas. This manner of acting is contrary to your interest and very wrong, as it is by no means allowable that a Zemindar should take such a step without an order first had from me. The English are foreigners and have settled in our country on a dependence of our protection in their Trade; and if they are treated in this manner, the consequence will be their withdrawing themselves and their trade, on which account I positively direct that on the immediate receipt of this Perwannah you remove the chowkeys you have put on their factories, and let their business have the usual currency without any further trouble." Consultations, May 5, 1755 A.D.

and peons there, and the Raja of Bishnupur severely exacted the usual duties from the English. The Board wrote to Mr. Scrafton directing him to represent these complaints at the Durbar and to insist on these Zamindars being punished in an exemplary manner.¹

The Company very often engaged Dalals (native brokers) for getting a supply of goods through them, instead of dealing directly with the native manufacturers.² The Dalals had by that time created some influence in trade circles and they used to hold night-meetings in Calcutta to settle the prices they should charge from the English for piece goods.³ They had a regular 'Trade Union' and though they were employed by the Company for commercial facilities, yet, sometimes, they felt no scruple in hindering the Company's trade by charging exorbitant commissions. In 1754 the Dalals at Jugdea charged the Company 15 per cent. beyond the price of the goods.⁴ On the 10th and 12th of April, 1755, Mr. William Baillic, Chief of the Council at Jugdea, wrote two letters to the Board informing that one of their old Dalals named Ratan Manik had "procured a sowar to seize their weavers and Peons under pretence that they had no right to sell their cloth to them but by his intervention; and that he has also seized one of the Gomasthas on his way to the Aurungs."⁵ But the Dalals gradually lost their influence, as the Company began to deal directly with the manufacturers than through these people.

¹ Proceedings, November 3, 1757 A.D.

² Consultations, 25th September, 1752.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ They charged it as a 'dustory' which they maintained was always customary. Consultations, May 6, 1754 A.D.

⁵ Consultations, April 24, 1755 A.D.

In their letter of March 3, 1758, the Court of Directors wrote to the Council in Calcutta :

"We would have you as much as possible cause the investments to be carried on the subordinates upon the same place as that at Calcutta without the intervention of merchants, dalals, or brokers by whom the Company have so severely suffered."

Retaliatory measures were not absent on the part of the Company's people also. About August, 1746, the man in charge of the 'chowkey' at Rangasoula "growing" very troublesome, stopping sloops and boats," the Council in Calcutta ordered an Officer and twenty men to proceed down thither, remove his 'Chowkey' and bring him up as a prisoner. On the 28th September the Officer returned with his party from Rangasoula and informed the members of the Council that "on his Arrival there the Jemindar (Zemindar) fired upon him upon which he landed his men and burnt the 'chowkey.' The Jeminder made his escape into the woods and sent him an Assurance (that he) would never stop any more boats with English colours." The Officer had cleared and brought up with him all the boats that had been stopped there.² In the same month one Dulputray, an officer belonging to Mir-Jafar, had stopped some boats with the Company's dustucks at Hugli. When the Company's vakils complained about it to the Naib Faujdar of Hugli, he declared that he had no hand in the matter and had no command over that officer. Dulputray had carried these boats to Cutdalpara(?), where he was taking the goods out of the boats and was about to divide these among his own men. Upon this the Members of the council in Calcutta thought it necessary to clear these boats by force, and accordingly agreed to send Captain Robert Hamilton with a part of military for that purpose and kept two country boats in readiness for future emergencies. Captain Robert was ordered to proceed up the river and to clear all boats (with the Company's Dustuck) that had been stopped "by fair means if any possible (or) otherwise to use his utmost force and when he had cleared the Boats to send these bound downwards hither with a party of soldiers and himself with the remaining men under his command to

¹ A village in the Jamtara Sub-division of the district of Sonthal Parganas, on the bank of the river Ajay.

² Letter to the Court, dated 22nd February, 1746-47, para. 104. I.R.D. (H.M.)

proceed to Nuddea " to await there the arrival of some boats of the Company from Cassimbazar.¹

There are some other instances which show that the Company also tried to assert its own superior right over others in matters of their trade in Bengal, and also sometimes adopted disciplinary measures upon the defaulting merchants.

In 1748 Mr. Eyre, chief of the Cassimbazar Factory, wrote to the council in Calcutta that " he had confined as many of the merchants who are indebted to the Company as they could meet with, in hopes it will shortly prevail with such of them as are able to discharge their debts." ² In 1750, the Council in Calcutta strictly warned the ' Blacks,' residing there against the practice of dealing with the French for goods proper for the European market. In the same year when the Nawab demanded of President Dawson the surrender of a native merchant in Calcutta named Ramkissen Seth who had carried goods to Calcutta without paying the Murshidabad 'Syre Chowkey' duties, the President replied that Ramkissen's father and grandfather were all the Company's daduey merchants, and, he being a debtor of the Company's, he could not be surrendered without much loss to them.³ In accordance with the orders of the Court of Directors, the Council in Calcutta acquainted the Armenians that they must pay consulage on their exports equally with the covenanted servants, and affixed public orders at the gates of the fort, forbidding all persons living within the limits of the Company's jurisdiction to export any goods from Calcutta without a permit from the consulage Collector.⁴ The Company's servants regarded a free merchant as an eyesore, as he interfered with their profits in trade.⁵ In 1753 John Wood, a free merchant

¹ Letter to the Court, dated the 22nd February, 1746-47, para. 105, I.R.D. (H.M.)

² Consultations, March, 1748.

³ Consultations, May 30, 1751 A.D. The Governor's letter to Ali Vardi, dated the 30th May, 1751.

⁴ Despatch to Court, August 20, 1751 A.D.

⁵ Long's Selections from the unpublished Records, Vol. I, Introduction, p. xxv,

applied for a pass on the ground that without it he would be reduced to "the condition of a foreigner, or indeed of the meanest black fellow."¹

This was too much for the Company's Council in Calcutta to bear. The members of the Council strongly protested against it, in the following manner, in their letter to the Court of Directors, January, 15, 1753 A. D. :—" We beg leave to represent to your Honours the great prejudice such a liberty would be to the place in general, for if it be permitted, a free merchant by lending his name without any capital of his own and by the assistance and concern of the natives, he may always set voyages on foot of utter destruction of the trade of his settlement in general, and a certain injury to every gentlemen in the service."²

The Company's servants practised gross abuses in the use *Dustucks*, which were used by them frequently in their private trade and were even sold to the 'black traders,' to the great prejudice of the revenues of the state. Properties of the native merchants were very often taken from one place to another with passes obtained under English names. In order to prevent this the Company ordered in 1752 that "the real proprietors of goods should be stated."³ We learn from the Court's Letter, January 31, 1755, that many of the Company's servants were making private gains from the Company's investments, for which the Directors asked the Council in Calcutta that "their (servants) future conduct should be well looked after and a scrutiny made their past management."⁴ David Rannie gives a true

¹ Consultations, January 15, 1753 A.D. Holwell remarked on it, "the foreign trade on the settlement is become much too general."

² *Vide* Long, No. 122, p. 46.

³ Consultations, October 9, 1752 A.D.

⁴ "In short, we have too much reason to believe our servants at the several subordinates in one shape or another unfaithfully interest themselves at our expense in the investments, and we are the more induced to believe so from the observation we have made upon the dullois of Jugdea's complaint against Messrs. Bayley and Playdell which was under your examination upon the departure of the *Falmouth*, together with some hints which has been given us of unfair practices at Dacca, which we are not yet

picture of the anomalous situation, which this abuse of Dustuck produced, in the following words:—"The injustice to the Moors consists in that being by their courtesy permitted to live here as merchants, to protect and judge what natives were their servants and to trade custom-free, we under that pretence protected all the Nabab's subjects that claimed our protection, though they were neither our servants nor our merchants, and gave our dustucks or passes to numbers of natives to trade custom-free, to the great prejudice of the Nawab's revenue, nay more, we levied large duties upon goods brought into our districts-from the very people that permitted us to trade custom-free, and by numbers of their impositions (framed to raise the Company's revenue) some of which were ruinous to ourselves such as taxes on marriages, provisions, transferring land property and caused eternal clamour and complaints against us at Court." ¹

KALIKINKAR DATTA

sufficiently enough apprize of to mention, to all which add the very extraordinary instance of Mr. Wogan's raising from nothing such a fortune at Dacca as it is generally reported he has brought home, although so young and low in the service. Upon the whole there appears a real necessity that their future conduct should be well looked after and a scrutiny made into their past management." Court's letter January 31, 1755 A.D.

¹ Causes of the loss of Calcutta by David Rennie, Hills Bengal (1756-1757), Vols. III, 384.

A PAGE FROM THE PAST

(Peary Chand Mittra.)

The age previous to the one that is passing away, was veritably one of giants. It followed the age of Raja Ram Mohun Roy and will be remembered always in the history of Bengal as the age of Ram Gopaul Ghose, Ram Tanu Lahiri, Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt, Russic Krishna Mullick, Prosonno Kumar Sarvadhikary, Tara Chand Chuckerbutty, Raj Narain Bose, Reverend Krishna Mohun Banerjea and Raja Dukhina Ranjan Mukherjee,—all the product of the school dominated by thoughts and influences of David Hare, of a Derozio and of a Captain Richardson. Closely allied to and associated with this galaxy of talents and character were two Mittra brothers Peary Chand and Kissory Chand of the Nimtala Mittra family, imported from the village Panisaola in the district of Hooghly, which the poet—*kabi* Dasharathi Roy—aptly described as the “Prince of Districts.” From Panisaola, it should be mentioned, came later on Mr. Justice Saroda Charan Mitter.

Peary Chand Mittra was one of the goodly band of pioneer citizens, who in their time first unlocked among their countrymen the treasures of western knowledge and made themselves intellectually rich. To the present generation he is known as the first to bid adieu to the bombastic sanskritised diction then in vogue and to make an approach to the language which is used by the people at large in ordinary conversation and daily intercourse in life. But he was one of the early builders of modern Bengal and the sincerity and devotion with which men, like him worked for the good of the country accounts for much of the religious,

social, political, moral and educational reforms of Bengal. In every case of emergency and crisis through which the province of Bengal passed Peary Chand was one of the foremost champions. He was ever ready to join any public movement having for its object the amelioration of the condition of the people. He was the founder and promoter of a large number of public institutions,—religious, literary, agricultural, and economical. He was a man of enormous resources and multitudinous energies. Few of his contemporaries and fewer of his after-comers, belonging to a distinctly weaker age, would dream of association with or success in a tithe of his activities. After his death the Reverend Krishna Mohun Banerjea wrote a letter from which we give the following extract:—"He (Peary Chand Mittra) was a link of union between European and Native society which will be regretted now as a *missing link* by both those communities. No one was more fitted for the highest position open to Native ambition and indifferent to mere self-interest, he adhered to the interests of his country and laboured indefatigably for those interests."

The date of his birth happened to coincide with the inauguration day of the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad*, it fittingly celebrated this auspicious event three years ago and the high privilege of speaking to the assembly about Peary Chand's phenomenal literary merits and qualities was mine. The paper attracted appreciation from keen lovers of Bengali literature like Sir P. C. Roy and the encouragement of the like of him made me think of essaying the portraiture of the great man's other qualities. We shall in the following few lines sketch some of the activities which he achieved besides his valuable contributions to Bengali literature. We may here add that, then as now, we received complete assistance from his grandson, Babu S. Mittra.

We bespeak the hospitality of the columns of the *Calcutta Review* now so intimately connected with the activities of the *Calcutta University*; and the reasons of this are many. As

will appear later on Peary Chand Mittra was a worthy member of the Senate of the Calcutta University and won high approbation by his devoted and meritorious service to the University. The University with its mouthpiece, the Calcutta Review, is now the belated champion of the cause of vernacular literature which he had very many years ago done so much to pioneer, develop and embellish,—this is our second claim for the hospitality of the Calcutta Review. In the third place the Review in the olden days was frequently the happy medium for expression of his fine thoughts in many walks of life.

Ancestors.—Peary Chand Mittra's grandfather, Gangadhar Mittra, came from the village Panisaola, Haripal, Pergana Chowmaha, District Hooghly and settled in Calcutta after purchasing a plot of land in 1794 in Nintala Ghat Street and building a house on it. He also consecrated two *Sivalingas* in front of the house and erected a pair of *Sivamandirs*. Gangadhar's eldest son, Ramnarain, father of Peary Chand, imbued the family with western ideas and was at times regarded as a heterodox member of the Hindu community for his catholicity of mind, close friendship and warm sympathy with the cause of that religious reform which was initiated and pushed forward by Raja Ram Mohun Roy. Peary Chand, the fourth son, was born on the 22nd July, 1814, corresponding with the 8th *Srabān*, 1221 B.E.

Academic career.—Of Peary Chand's academic career there is unfortunately not much to write. Not that it was barren of incidents but we have no reliable account. He was admitted to the *Mahabidyalaya* or the Hindoo College on the 7th July, 1827, in the 11th class and we are not aware when his school career was finished. Most probably he read under the Eurasian tutor, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, as the latter was connected with the College from March, 1828 to April, 1831. While in the first class he received besides the annual

prizes a scholarship of Rupees sixteen per mensem. This in those days was considered the *summum bonum* of scholastic distinction.

The Hindu Charitable Institution.—While an advanced student of the College, Peary Chand started a morning school at his residence to impart gratuitous education to the poor students of the locality. David Hare and other promoters of English education patronised the institution.

The Academic Association.—Was formed at about 1828. Peary Chand was one of its members. No authentic trace can be made of the work of this institution. Most probably it lingered on till 1839.

The Calcutta Public Library.—At the First General Meeting of the Proprietors of the Library held in March, 1836, Peary Chand was appointed the Sub-Librarian of the institution and he was promoted as its Librarian and Secretary in 1848. This stipendiary post he resigned in 1866 but the authorities appreciating his services retained him as its Honorary Secretary by creating the post. The Library was managed by a body of Curators (generally three in number) from its formation. As a mark of distinction Peary Chand was nominated to seat in the Board of Curators permanently as an Honorary Curator from this year. In 1873 the constitution of the Library was rearranged and a Council of Management was formed. Peary Chand was annually elected a member of the Council from 1874 till his death.

The Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge.—Was formed in March, 1838, with Babu Tara Chand Chuckerbutty as President and Peary Chand Mittra and Ram Tonu Lahiri as Honorary Secretaries. At the meetings of the Society, Pearychand delivered the following discourses :—

State of Hindoostan under the Hindoos (five lectures) and Remarks on the Reverend K. M. Banerjee's essay on "Female Education."

He also wrote a life of the President, Babu Tara Chand Chuckerbutty, which appeared in the *India Review and Journal of Foreign Science and Arts* for March, 1840.

The Bengal Spectator.—Peary Chand was a regular contributor to the *Gnananeshan* started by the *alumni* of the Hindoo College. He subsequently started the *Bengal Spectator* in April, 1842. This paper lasted for nearly two years.

David Hare.—After the death of David Hare, the Father of Indian Education, a Testimonial Committee was formed in June, 1842, of which Peary Chand was a member. The Committee erected a statue which is now to be seen in the open ground between the Presidency College and Hare School. Subsequently when committees were formed for arranging the David Hare Anniversary Meetings and for the Hare Prize Fund, Peary Chand was elected a member and afterwards Honorary Secretary to both the institutions.

The Hindoo Theophilanthropic Society.—Was started at the ancestral house in February, 1843, for promoting the moral and religious status of the Hindus. Peary Chand and Kissory Chand were both workers.

The Calcutta Mechanics Institution.—Was formed in February, 1839, to instruct the principles of arts and the various branches of useful knowledge. At the Annual Meeting held on the 7th March, 1843, Peary Chand was elected a Member of its Committee.

The Bengal British India Society.—Was formed in April, 1843, with George Thomson as President and Peary Chand as Honorary Secretary. The Society was the nursery of a young band of politicians who painfully alive to the wretched distinction then in force between the governing and the governed classes gave vent to their thoughts and feelings with a freedom of speech which shook the nerves of even the most dispassionate Englishman in India. Week after week there was a rush to that political arena where the President and the members delighted their audience with most pleasing visions about the

future of India. Under the auspices of Peary Chand the Society published a pamphlet, *Evidences Relating to the Efficiency of Native Agency in the Administration of the Affairs in This Country*.

The Calcutta Lyceum.—Was formed in April, 1844, to diffuse information in science, art and literature among the members. Peary Chand was a Member of the Committee.

The Encyclopaedia Bengalensis.—Edited by the Reverend K. M. Banerjea, was published from 1846. In the volume V appeared lives of Judhisthir, Confucius, Plato, Vicramaditya, Alfred and Sultan Mahmud. Of these Judhisthir, Plato and Vicramaditya were from the pen of Peary Chand.

The District Charitable Society.—Peary Chand was nominated a Member of the Native Committee in 1847 which post he held till his death. In alluding to his death the Report of the Society for 1883 mentions thus :—“ Highly intelligent and educated, public-spirited and pious as he (Peary Chand) was, his loss is mourned by the public at large ; but it is irreparable to the Native Committee of the District Charitable Society and is therefore more deeply mourned by them. They will always miss his wise counsels at meetings, marked as they were with justice tempered by mercy, and his labours out of meetings rendered ungrudgingly and with alacrity in the interest of the paupers.”

The Agricultural and Horticultural Society.—Peary Chand was elected a Member in July, 1847. Under the auspices of the Society he wrote the Indian Agricultural Miscellany (in five small volumes) as also *Krishipath* in the Bengali language. A paper, *Bengal Rice*, written by him, appeared in Part IV of Volume V of the Society's Journal. He was elected its Vice-President for several terms and in 1871 was elected an Honorary Member,—being the first Indian gentleman to hold this post.

Police Corruption.—A Commission consisting of Messrs. J. E. Colvin and W. Dampier was appointed in 1849 to investigate the question of Police corruption. Peary Chand fearlessly exposed the abuses and corruption of the Police.

The British Indian Association.—Was formed in October,

1851. Peary Chand was one of its members. At the First Annual Meeting held on the 2nd February, 1852, he was elected a Member of the Executive Committee which post he held till his death. The Association published in 1853 a pamphlet, *Notes on Evidences on Indian Affairs*, written by him. He used to take an active interest in the management of the Association and the addresses delivered by him on different occasions show his wonderful capacity of comprehension. At the time of his death he and Babu Joykrishna Mookerjee were the only two survivors of the foundation members.

The Hon'ble John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune.—After the death of the Hon'ble Mr. Bethune, a separate meeting, apart from the "Bethune Endowment Fund" project, was held on the 22nd August, 1851, to raise funds for a personal memorial and a Committee was formed with Peary Chand as Honorary Secretary. A marble bust of the deceased was placed at the hall of the Bethune College as a result of his efforts.

The Bethune Society.—Was formed in December, 1851, for consideration and discussion of questions connected with literature and science. With a view to perpetuate the name of Mr. Bethune and to commemorate his services in promoting the cause of female education among the Bengalis it was denominated in his name. Doctor F. J. Mouat was its President and Peary Chand Honorary Secretary. Peary Chand also worked as a Member of the Committee of Paupers for 1854 and 1855.

Renewal of the Charter.—A public meeting was held on the 29th July, 1853, at the Town Hall at the time of the renewal of the Charter. Peary Chand spoke at the meeting.

The Society for the Promotion of Industrial Arts.—Was formed in 1854. Peary Chand was one of its Members. The Society opened the School of Industrial Arts in the month of August of that year.

Masik Patrika.—From August, 1854, appeared *Masik Patrika* edited by Peary Chand. In this magazine appeared serially for the first time *Alaler Gharer Dulal*, the first novel in Bengali.

The Association of Friends for the Promotion of Social Improvement.—Was formed in December, 1854. Peary Chand was a Member of the Committee.

The Bidyotsahini Sabha.—Was formed in January, 1855, at Kali Prosonno Singh's house for literary discussions. Peary Chand was one of its members. Kali Prosonno Singh wrote and staged three Bengali plays according to modern style. They proved a failure which led to Michael Modhu Sudan Dutt's Bengali plays being written and staged in the garden house of the Paikpara Rajas.

Commercial Enterprise.—Three persons, Kala Chand Sett, Tara Chand Chuckerbutty and Peary Chand Mittra started a firm in March, 1839, called Kala Chand Sett & Co., for import and export business. The connection of Tara Chand Chuckerbutty with the firm ceased from August, 1844. But the firm was again started in January, 1845, by Kala Chand Sett and Peary Chand Mittra. Kala Chand died in 1849 and his executors closed the account in March, 1850. Since that time he carried on the business in his own name and on his own account. In 1855 he took his two sons as partners and the firm was designated Peary Chand Mittra & Sons.

Appreciation by the Mercantile Community.—So high was the esteem in which Peary Chand was held by the European mercantile community that he was elected a Director of the Port Canning Land Investment Reclamation and Dock Co., Ltd., the Great Eastern Hotel Co., Ltd., the Calcutta Screwing Co., Ltd., the South Salt Co. Ltd. and the Howrah Docking Co., Ltd. He was an expert in tea business and was on the Board of Directors of the Bengal Tea Co., Ltd., the Lebong and Minchu Tea Co., Ltd., the Durrung Tea Co., Ltd. and the East India Tea Co., Ltd.

The Vernacular Literature Society.—Was formed in 1851 to provide sound and useful vernacular domestic literature for Bengal. Peary Chand was a Member of the Committee. In March, 1856, he was appointed temporarily Honorary Secretary to the Society. It will be remembered that epoch-making

family novels like *Sushilar Upakhyan*, the like of which we now look for in vain, were published by this Society. The Society was subsequently amalgamated with the Calcutta School Book Society.

The Calcutta School Book Society.—Peary Chand was elected a Member of the Committee in March, 1856, which post he held till his death.

The Cholera Hospital.—A charitable cholera hospital was started in April, 1858, to treat patients according to Doctor J. M. Honigberger's method. Peary Chand was a Member of the Hospital Committee.

The Calcutta Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.—Peary Chand was connected with the Society since its inauguration in October, 1861, as a Member of its Executive Committee. After the death of his friend Mr. Colesworthy Grant in June, 1881, he was appointed its Honorary Secretary. After the death of Peary Chand, his eldest son, Amritalall Mittra, carried on the works of the Society until he resigned a few months before his death in March, 1895.

Mr. Colesworthy Grant.—After the death of Mr. Grant a Committee was formed with Peary Chand as Honorary Secretary to commemorate his services to the Society and a fountain with a water-trough was placed on the east side of the Dalhousie Square.

The Calcutta College.—Was formed in April, 1862, to teach the elements of morality and simple natural religion to the youthful mind. Peary Chand was a Member of the Committee.

The Bengal Agricultural Exhibition.—Was held in January, 1864, under the auspices of the Bengal Government. Peary Chand acted as one of its Judges.

The Calcutta University.—Peary Chand was nominated a Fellow of the Calcutta University in April, 1864. After his death, the Hon'ble H. J. Reynolds, the Vice-Chancellor, at the Convocation held in March, 1884, spoke thus :—" Among those whom death has removed during the past year from the roll of

our Senate, something more than a passing notice is due to the memory of Babu Peary Chand Mittra. He was among the most senior of our Fellows, and in him Bengal has lost one of its most distinguished authors. To him belongs the credit of having struck out a new line in the vernacular literature, by his composition of what, I believe, is recognised as the first Bengali novel, and he was also a regular contributor to the Calcutta Review. But his literary achievements are not his highest title to the affection and esteem with which his name will be long cherished. It is to his exertions, as a member of the Legislative Council, that Bengal owes the Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and he was one of the most energetic members of the Society which has been instituted for the purpose of enforcing the provisions of that excellent and merciful law."

The Asiatic Society.—Peary Chand joined the Asiatic Society as its Member in May, 1866.

The Bengal Social Science Association.—Was formed in January, 1867, with H. Beverley, C. S., and Peary Chand as the Honorary Secretaries. The object of the Association was to promote the social development in Bengal by uniting Europeans and Indians of all classes in the collection, arrangement and classification of facts bearing on the social, intellectual and moral condition of the people. Gentlemen of the highest position from the Viceroy and Governor-General downwards did not deem it beneath their dignity to countenance the Association by their presence and benefit it by their public lectures. Peary Chand used to take a lively interest in the discourses that followed the lectures. He resigned the post in 1875.

Ram Gopaul Ghose.—After the death of Ram Gopaul Ghose a memorial meeting was held on the 22nd February, 1868. Peary Chand in moving the first resolution read a series of letters received by him from the Government, public bodies and some European gentlemen who were associated with Ram Gopaul.

The College Re-union.—The first College Re-union took

place in January, 1875. Peary Chand, the senior Hindoo College student present there, opened the Re-union.

The Indian Association.—Was formed in July, 1876. Peary Chand was one of its members. His life-long co-adjutor, Rev. K. M. Banerjea, for some time acted as President of the Association and Peary Chand used to help him in every possible way in this self-imposed task. When I joined the Association in the early eighties of the last century, the Rev. Dr. Banerjea was still its President and as fellow members we had with him many a memorable struggle. I do not remember having met Peary Chand Mitra at the Association.

Civic Administration of Calcutta.—The first experiment in local self-government in Calcutta was made by Act XXIV of 1840. A public meeting of the rate-payers was held on the 15th April, 1843, to take into consideration with regards to the working of the Act. Peary Chand took a part in the meeting. After the passing of the Municipal Act XVI of 1847 the first election of Commissioners took place in the month of December of that year. Peary Chand acted as a scrutinizer for the first division of the city. When the Act VI of 1863 was passed he was appointed a Justice of the Peace. In June, 1871, the Chairman of the Justices issued a revised list which included his name. So he was a Municipal Commissioner from 1863 to 1876 when Act IV of 1876 was passed. Under this Act his nephew Babu Radha Raman Mitra was elected Commissioner for Ward No. V and worked under his direction.

Appreciation by the Government.—Peary Chand was appointed a Visitor to the House of Correction and the Jail in May, 1864. He was nominated a Grand Juror of the High Court at about this time. Under Act XIII of 1865, Special Jurors were appointed and we find Peary Chand's name in the list. He was also appointed an Honorary Magistrate of Calcutta at about this time. In 1872 the list of Honorary Magistrates was revised and we find Peary Chand's name was included. He was a member of the Bengal Legislative Council from January, 1868 to

January, 1870. The Acts for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals were passed as a result of his efforts.

Devotion to Friends.—By the “Wills” of Russic Krishna Mullick and Radhanath Sikdar Peary Chand was appointed an Executor and he carried on the business to the entire satisfaction of the Court and the legatees. He always acted as a peace-maker between any two contending parties. He had not unfrequently been called upon to arbitrate in cases of no ordinary complications requiring much time and attention for their settlement.

Charitable Disposition.—During the Orissa Famine of 1866-67, Peary Chand opened an *annachhatra* at his house where paupers were daily fed. In his zemindary he excavated a huge tank to mitigate the water scarcity among ryots.

Social Reforms.—In a Bengali book written by him Peary Chand pointed out the evils of intemperance and drinking in the form of small narratives. Being himself a warm advocate of female education, when the *Hindoo Balika Bidyalaya* (Bethune's Girls' School) was started in May, 1849, he sent his daughter there. When Miss Mary Carpenter came to Calcutta Peary Chand was a member of her committee for the advancement of female education. A meeting was held at the Brahmo Samaj Hall in December, 1866, when she, for the first time in Calcutta, propounded her scheme. The meeting was presided over by Peary Chand. He also wrote several booklets in aid of the intellectual culture of Bengali ladies. A petition was presented to the Government for the abolition of polygamy at the beginning of 1855. Peary Chand took a leading part in the movement. The first widow marriage, after the passing of Act XV of 1856 (the Hindu Widow Marriage Act) took place in the month of December of that year. Peary Chand was present on the occasion. He also wrote several papers on the subject.

The Calcutta Review.—In the Calcutta Review appeared the following papers written by Peary Chand :—

Zemindar and Ryot (October, 1846).

Agricultural Society of India (April, 1854).

Court Amlas in Lower Bengal (Do. Do.).

Marriage of Hindu Widows (October, 1855).

Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce
(July, 1871).

Development of the Female Mind in India (July, 1872).

Indian Wheat (April, 1873).

Psychology of the Aryas (January, 1877).

Commerce in Ancient India (January, 1878).

Social Life of the Aryas (January, 1879).

Hindu Bengal (April, 1880).

Early Commerce in Bengal (January, 1881).

When the Charter was renewed in 1853 at the Parliamentary debates Lord Albemarle quoted an extract from the first article, "Zemindar and the Ryot," after introducing the author.

Bengali Publications.—Besides *Alaler Gharer Dulal*, Peary Chand wrote ten other books in the Bengali language. Many of his writings were for spiritual culture, specially adapted to the study of ladies.

English Publications.—Peary Chand wrote the following books in the English language :—

Biographical Sketch of David Hare (1877).

Spiritual Stray Leaves (1879).

Life of Dewan Ram Comul Sen (1880).

Stray Thoughts on Spiritualism (1880).

Life of Colesworthy Grant (1881).

On the Soul (1881).

Agriculture in Bengal (1881).

Besides he used to contribute regularly in the Indian Field, Hindoo Patriot, Bengal Hurkaru, Englishman, Bengalee and other periodicals.

He also left some papers (complete and partly complete) which were published in the National Magazine after his death, a list of which is given below :—

Education in Bengal (December, 1907 and January, 1908).

Early Account of the District Charitable Society (March, 1908).

Life of Rustomjee Cowasjee (April and May, 1908).

Early Recollections (June and August, 1908).

Notes on the Soul (October and December, 1908 and January, February and April, 1909).

Moral Culture (July, 1909).

Yoge and Spiritualism (December, 1909).

In the Hindu Spiritual Magazine appeared the following papers written by Peary Chand :—

Yoge and Spiritualism (November, 1909).

A Seance with Mr. W. Eglington (September, 1913).

Spiritualism in Calcutta (May, 1914).

Do. (June, 1914).

Do. (December, 1914).

In the Hindu Spiritual Magazine (June, 1916) appeared a paper, *Reminiscences of Peary Chand Mittra*, written by Doctor J. M. Peebles.

Religious Views.—We have alluded to the Hindoo Theophilanthropic Society before. This institution was a rival with the then Brahmo Samaj of which Peary Chand was a staunch admirer. The *Brahmo Bandhu Sabha* was formed at about 1863 of which Peary Chand was a member. About 1864 Keshub Chandra Sen's influence in the Brahmo Samaj prevailed, and to settle the disputed questions, the *Brahmo Pratinidhi Sabha* was formed in October, 1864, of which Peary Chand was a member. After the death of his wife, Peary Chand took to spiritualism. When the British National Association of Spiritualists was formed in London in 1873 Peary Chand was elected its Honorary Corresponding Member and in the Central Association of Spiritualists (formed also in London in 1882) an Honorary Member. Besides he was a member of the leading Spiritualists, Associations in England and America and received several diplomas and certificates testifying to the value of his labour in that direction. The United Association of Spiritualists was formed

in Calcutta in 1880 with Mr. J. G. Meugens—President, Peary Chand Mittra—Vice-President and Babu Narendranath Sen—Secretary.

Spiritual Writings.—In the Spiritualist (published in London) the following papers contributed by Peary Chand were published :—

Psychology of the Buddhists (31st August, 1877).

God in the Soul (7th September, 1877).

The Spirit Land (16th November, 1877).

The Spiritual State (23rd November, 1877).

Soul Revelation (February, 1878).

The Soul (30th May, 1878).

In the Banner of Light (published in Boston) the following papers written by Peary Chand were published :—

Progression of the Soul (23th January, 1878).

Abhedi (August, 1878).

Soul Revelation in India (5th January, 1878).

Socrates and Jesus Christ (19th April, 1879).

In the Theosophist (then published in Bombay) appeared Peary Chand's two papers :—

Inner God (October, 1879), and Hindu Bengal (August, 1881). The latter was reprint of the Calcutta Review article.

Adherence to Theosophy.—When the Theosophical Society was formed at New York in June, 1877, Peary Chand was elected a Corresponding Fellow. On his arrival in Calcutta, Colonel H. S. Olcott delivered a lecture at the Town Hall in April, 1882. Peary Chand presided on the occasion. Colonel Olcott left Calcutta on the 18th April forming the Bengal Theosophical Society with Peary Chand as its President.

Last event.—Peary Chand Mittra died on the 23rd November, 1883, Friday, 8th *Agrahayan*, 1290 B.E.

The above is necessarily a catalogue-like bare recounting of the manifold activities of a well-filled life. The catalogue may possibly stimulate enquiry on a larger scale by those interested in reminiscences of a by-gone age which has left its

impress on the present. The slightest development of any one of the above-mentioned activities would occupy an article of the size of this and the whole would fill a large volume.

If such a man be forgotten, then give up hopes for the welfare of India in despair.

DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY

DUTY AND LOVE

The law has wed me to my bride,
Her name 'mongst men is Duty ;
My life in joy her burden bears
So charming is her beauty.
To heart in whisper I confess
In secret love I burn
For One unseen, whose name is Bliss
That deate to life will turn.
My bride asleep, I leave her bed
In search of Love unknown ;
I know my bride is not awake
To heart she's ne'er alone.
Love's light in night of darkness deep.
My steps are quick and dead.
No eye can see, no ear can hear
As heart to Love is sped.
I feel, I fee Love's silent kiss
I swear it is not pain nor bliss
No mind can think, no word can tell
And yet I swear I know her well.
She pierces heart to living core
And makes me love my bride the more.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

A NOTE ON UNEMPLOYMENT¹

The problem of unemployment is one of the most challenging problems of the world to-day. According to the most recent figures, there were, in January, 1931, in Europe alone, over eleven million workers wholly or partially unemployed, or nearly twice as much as in the January of the previous year. In the United States, it is estimated that, at present, roughly over 5 millions of workers are unemployed. The figures for countries outside Europe are very incomplete; nevertheless, it is generally conceded that vast numbers of the populations of India, China, Japan, South America and Africa are in a state of either chronic unemployment or under-employment. Even according to the most conservative estimates, there are at present 20 million unemployed in the world. It is one of the most poignant tragedies of our competitive civilisation that, willing and able to work, this huge army of unemployed cannot find the employment by which alone they can support themselves and their families. Here, surely, is a problem which, because of its universal character, because of the large numbers affected, and because of the serious dislocations which it brings about in the economy of the world, ought to engage the serious attention of the social worker, the economist and the statesman.

The outstanding characteristics of this grave social *malaise* are its universality and the periodicity of its recurrence. The post-war years have witnessed an acute increase in unemployment, and to-day, in all the leading industrial countries of the world, the figures of unemployment are galloping up despite the efforts of successive governments to check their pace. According to an I. L. O. report on the economic crisis in the United States, between the years 1919-1929 the output per head in the manufacturing industries of the country increased by 45 per

¹ Received from the Indian Branch of the League of Nations International Labour office (Geneva)—Editor.

cent., whilst the number of persons employed in manufactures fell from 9,000,000 to 8·1 million. A similar shrinkage in employment accompanying a great expansion in individual production was observable in mining, railways and agriculture. This index of the alarming increase in the incidence of unemployment in the United States may be taken as typical of the shrinkage in employment in almost all industrial countries. It is, therefore, not surprising that, at the present day, the governments of even the most progressive countries have been compelled to admit their absolute inability to cope individually with so baffling a question. It is being increasingly realised that the problem cannot be isolated and dealt with successfully inside the frontiers of any single nation, and that, therefore, the countries affected should join hands and take concerted international action if any appreciable improvement in unemployment conditions is to be effected.

The International Labour Office has, from its very inception, constantly kept the problem of unemployment in the fore-front of its preoccupations. A primary duty of the I. L. O. is the task of eliminating conditions which tend to bring about "injustice, hardship and privation" to the world's workers. A state of affairs in which human labour is reduced to the condition of a commodity and left to the blind forces of supply and demand, is repugnant to the fundamental principles of humanity. Nevertheless, as Sir William Beveridge puts it, unemployment has now become a problem of industry, and seems indissolubly connected with it. To study the problem in all its aspects, to mitigate its evil consequences, and if possible to exorcise it from our industrial system—these have been among the primary duties the I. L. O. has set to itself. With the co-operation of its member-states, the I. L. O. has been able, during the first decade of its existence, to register substantial progress in its efforts to study the problem scientifically and in all its aspects. It recognised that the first step to discovering a solution was to ascertain the facts, and accordingly, at the first International

Labour Conference in 1919, a Draft Convention on Unemployment was adopted requiring member-states to transmit to the I. L. O. at frequent intervals full information, statistical and otherwise, on unemployment. The search for information thus initiated has been vigorously prosecuted ever since. To-day, the I. L. O. collects and publishes the most authoritative and comprehensive information on unemployment, and all students of the subject admit that, without the valuable statistical data so collected, it would be impossible to arrive at even roughly accurate estimates of world unemployment figures. With a view to provide immediate relief to the families of the unemployed worker and to prevent, as far as possible, the necessity of recourse to mere charity or poor law relief, while more permanent remedies are being sought, the Conference also adopted a Recommendation urging all states, which had not already done so, to introduce a system of unemployment insurance with Government assistance. The second Conference in 1920 recommended the extension of unemployment insurance to seamen and adopted a Draft Convention requiring the payment of compensation at the full rate of wages to seamen thrown out of work by the loss of their vessels. In 1921, again, the Conference called for the extension of all forms of social insurance, including insurance against unemployment, to agricultural workers also. It is very much to the credit of the I. L. O. that its preliminary efforts in this direction have produced very satisfactory results. When the I.L.O. first addressed itself to this problem only two countries had national employment insurance systems; in October, 1930, ten countries had regular unemployment insurance systems and 43 million workers in various countries were covered by such systems.

To remove the causes of unemployment, however, proved more difficult than to mitigate its consequences. One of the first measures adopted by the Conference was intended to remove the anomaly that there might be workers unemployed while there was work actually waiting to be done—the most obvious type of

preventable unemployment. With this end in view, the 1919 Conference adopted a Convention requiring each state to set up a system of free employment exchanges. The I.L.O. has also done much valuable research work besides the compilation of unemployment statistics referred to earlier. In addition to publishing a comprehensive and very useful bibliography on unemployment, the I.L.O. has submitted two general reports on the subject to the Labour Conference of 1922 and 1929, and has also recently published a well documented report on "Unemployment and Public Works" setting forth a mass of information about the methods pursued by certain governments who, with wise forethought, have prepared schemes of public works to be put into operation when there is a general scarcity of work.

But the results achieved so far have been more in the direction of documentation than in the direction of co-ordinating the information collected and utilising it for the formulation of a remedial policy. In order, therefore, to draw practical results from the work already accomplished, the Governing Body of the I.L.O. set up late last year an Unemployment Committee for a thorough study of the principal causes of unemployment, in particular, tariff competition between states, the unsatisfactory distribution of capital and raw materials, the unsatisfactory distribution of national wealth between the various classes of the population, the difficulty of adapting production to the requirements of consumption, the development of new industries, and changes in industrial technique. The report presented by the Committee, which met at Geneva on the 26th and 27th January last, lays special emphasis on the increasing gravity of the problem and its consequences both from the humanitarian and the social point of view, and draws attention to the following factors as being among those principally contributing to bring about the present situation: (a) excessive production of certain agricultural products, resulting partly from exceptionally good harvests and partly from an increase in the amount of cultivated land; (b) the maladjustment between the production of certain

industrial products (such as raw materials and the industrial equipment) and the market's power of absorption ; (c) the inelasticity in the links whereby effective purchasing power, as expressed in currency and credit, is connected with the world's available gold supply, which has been a factor in the unprecedented fall in world prices ; (d) lack of confidence which leads to inadequate distribution of gold, to imperfect circulation of capital and to restriction in the granting of credits, and which, by preventing the financing of countries which are in need of capital, and the development of the purchasing power of consumers, has made it impossible to restrict the fall of world prices ; (e) the fall in the price of silver, leading to a considerable decrease in the purchasing power, already reduced by the political conditions in some of those countries ; (f) too high a cost of production in certain countries as a result of physical, geographical or other conditions ; (g) the disturbances in international commerce caused, not only by the development of new industrial areas, but also by artificial barriers put in the way of international trade, and by the difficulties associated with the problem of political debts ; (h) the difficulties in the way of adjusting movements of population to the possibilities of exploiting the resources of the world ; (i) the disorganisation of the labour market caused by the extra-rapid development of labour-saving machinery and of the process of rationalisation.

The Committee, while recommending a further study of the question by the I.L.O., urges that body to strive, with the help of the workers' and employers' organisations represented in it, to induce governments to take all immediately practicable steps to preserve the world of labour from the consequences of unemployment. The Committee has in particular drawn the attention of governments to the following points :—(a) the need for the organisation of the labour market by public employment exchange services which should collaborate as effectively as possible in the drawing up of systematic schemes for the re-employment of the unemployed and the readaptation, if necessary, of discharged

workers to the technical requirements of production; (b) the need of developing existing systems of relief and insurance against total unemployment and short-time, and the creation of insurance systems where they are not yet in existence, with the means necessary to ensure that they are immediately financed by advances from the state, every effort being made to adapt them to the essential needs of the workers without interfering with the re-employment of the workers in industries capable of activity either at home or abroad; (c) undertaking extensive public works of national utility in accordance with programmes previously drawn up and at the same time expanding orders for supplies, so as to counteract the effects of the temporary falling off of activity in private enterprise; and examination of the possibility of Governments coming to an agreement through the appropriate organs of the League of Nations with a view to joint execution of extensive public works of an international character; (d) international co-operation which will make possible the free movement and employment of men in regions capable of utilising their activity, with a view to increasing markets; (e) the development of suitable methods for ensuring co-operation among the different national economic systems.

With regard to the measures to be taken on the subject of the length of the working day or week and the remuneration of labour, in relation to unemployment, the Committee takes note of the fact that the representatives of the employers and workers hold different opinions at the present time. The representatives of the workers, while maintaining their demands in connection with the forty-hour week, ask for; (a) a reasonable shortening of the working day or week, taking into account the increase in output obtained by improved methods of production; (b) suitable means of raising the remuneration of labour in countries where it is inadequate at the present time with a view to eliminating that factor of unfair competition and to increasing the consumptive capacity of certain markets, without neglecting

the development of social insurance which preserves a certain power of consumption to workers prevented from earning their living by causes beyond their control. The employers consider on the contrary not only that the measures suggested by the workers would be of no avail but that they would produce most serious disturbances. They are convinced, on the other hand, that one of the essential measures to be adopted in the effort to restore economic equilibrium should be a reduction of the cost of production and the expenses of distribution so as to enlarge markets by increasing the purchasing power of the whole body of consumers. As a result of this difference of opinion, the Committee has invited the I. L. O. to pursue its investigations in order to lead, at a later date, if possible, to a narrowing of the gap between the two points of view and to positive action.

A word in conclusion about India :—In this country also, as in the other countries of the world, unemployment is rife. The situation in India is, however, rendered peculiarly complex by a singular combination of unfavourable circumstances. The lop-sided nature of the country's educational system, the rigidity of caste stratifications which militates against the mobility of labour, the lack of true appreciation of the dignity of labour, the comparative paucity of industrial enterprises, and the prevailing trade depression and political unrest have all conspired to precipitate wide-spread unemployment. Recognising the gravity of the crisis, several Indian provinces and states have already instituted enquiries into unemployment conditions within their respective territories. Such investigations are to be welcomed in so far as they connote a true perception of the gravity of the unemployment situation with which the country is faced. It is to be hoped, however, that the country's future efforts in this direction will be made in whole-hearted co-operation with the I. L. O. whose duty is to secure new light on the unemployment problem and to find practicable methods for attacking it.

TO RABINDRA NATH TAGORE.

(*For the occasion of his seventy-first birthday, 8th May, 1931.*)

When in some dim, distant, unrecorded past,
Dreaming dreams of Love and Joy and Beauty,
The Creator breathed into a dream at last
Breath of life, you stood, a poet. Duty
Beckoned you to star-lit temple of the night,
Gave a lyre and said, " Sit here communing
With the Great Musician, till the dawning light
Find you here your throbbing lyre-strings tuning ''.

You obeyed, and when you came
To the world you brought song-flame .
For the *ārti* of Love's Name.

Like a royal priest in shining vestments clad,
Poet ! you have from the censor swinging
Of your heart with incense thrilled our hearts once sad.
While the golden temple-bells were ringing
Lo ! the west leaned forward ah ! to catch the strain
Of your melody that ached with rapture,
Of your melody that had the lilt of pain.
In a dream of music you did capture
Beauty's vision that doth bless
With a happier happiness
Souls that burn for loveliness.

You have dipt your brush in sunset's molten gold,
And the crimson heart of tender morning,
Just you paint one glorious Image, and behold,
Time's great pageant sweetly 'tis adorning.
Ages yet unborn shall stand in breathless awe
Yes, before your flash of art, admiring

Love-eyed Truth the Beautiful, till by some law
Every passion turn to poignant flame of keen desiring
For that Loveliness unseen
Mystic rapture that has been,
For the vision you have seen.

Prince of Pilgrims ! Prophet of the newer day !
Song-wing'd Herald ! pardon me for raising
My obscure weak voice to join the choric lay
Echoed now from star to star and praising
Your immortal triumphs, triumphs that have won
Spirit's lost dominions. Song's bright gleaming
Banner floats above the kinndom of the Sun,
And beneath it East and West are dreaming.

Poet of the dauntless free !
Let your mantle fall on me,
Love, your Lord, my King shall be !

CYRIL MODAK

JAYANTA BHATTA—THE AUTHOR OF THE NYĀYAMAÑJARĪ

If the history of India's culture and civilization has to be studied in its proper perspective, one must study with reverence and sympathy the monumental works of the philosophers of all schools of thought and thus cultivate first-hand acquaintance with these intellectual Titans that India has produced ; and the result will be a broadening of vision and an irrepressible optimism in the possibilities of human intellect. The reader can be assured that there are agreeable surprises in store for him at every step and his study will open new vistas of thought before him. The task is arduous and is calculated to damp the resolution of even an ambitious student. These works are almost all written in highly specialised Sanskrit, but once the intricacies of Sanskrit and philosophical terminology are mastered—a terminology, which in its variety, range and scientific accuracy can compete on equal terms with that of the scientific and philosophical literature of modern Europe—the task will be simpler and it will refresh and stimulate the intellect at every stage. The student stands to gain at any event and even a pleasure excursion will have its salutary effect. It will invigorate his intellect and strengthen his moral nerves.

Among the intellectual giants that India produced, *Jayanta Bhaṭṭa* is one occupying the forefront with *Kuṇārila* and *Dharmakīrti*, *Sāntarakṣita* and *Vācaspati Miśra*, to name only a few. But what demarcates *Jayanta Bhaṭṭa* from his compeers is the fact that whereas others were fortunate in receiving the patronage of mighty sovereigns or rich and powerful corporations, religious or social, *Jayanta Bhaṭṭa* was the victim of the cruel tyranny of a royal despot. We know from the testimony of his son, *Abhinanda*, who wrote a summary of the story of *Bāṇa's Kādambarī*

and who has furnished us with the genealogical tree of his illustrious family in his introduction to the work, that *Jayanta's* great-grand-father was *Saktisvāmin*, who was a man of great learning and was a minister of King *Muktāpīḍa* of the *Karkoṭa* dynasty. The son of *Saktisvāmin* was *Kalyāṇasvāmin*, who, in purity and spiritual perfection attained by a course of *Yogic* practices, resembled *Yājñavalkya*, the reputed founder of the *Yoga School*.¹ We know from *Jayanta's* own words that his grandfather, was an adept in the *Vedic* lore and practical ritualism. He performed the *Vedic* sacrifice called *Sāmgrahaṇī*, which is enjoined upon a person who desires to be master of a village, and as a result of the sacrifice, he got the village called ' *Gauramūlaka* ' just after the ceremony was completed.² This has been adduced by *Jayanta Bhaṭṭa* as proof of the infallibility of *Vedic* religion. *Jayanta* was a staunch believer in the *Vedas* and it is quite probable that his faith was confirmed by this family tradition and this perhaps gives the reason of his deep and extensive scholarship in the *Karmamīmāṃsā*, which is evidenced by his profuse quotations from *Sabara* and *Kumārila's* works. In fact he bases the superior claims of *Nyāya* philosophy in preference to *Mīmāṃsā* on the ground that *Nyāya* is better calculated to establish the authority of the *Vedas* on a secure foundation than any other discipline, as the former, powerful in its logical resources, can easily rebut the fallacious arguments of heretics.³ *Jayanta's* father was *Candra*, who resembled *Candra* (the moon) in loveliness and in the words of the author, whose fame white as moonlight spread far and wide. *Abhinanda* is eloquent in the praises of his father, which are more than justified by facts. *Sarasvatī*, the goddess of learning, manifested herself in poetry and eloquence in his person. He bore the title of ' *Vṛttikāra* ' (commentator on *Nyāya*). He was

¹ See the preface to the *Nyāyamañjarī* by the editor, Gaṅgādhara Śāstrin, pp. 1-2.

² tathā hy asmatpitāmaha eva grāmakāmaḥ sāmgrahaṇīṁ kṛtvān, sa iṣṭisamāptisamanantaram eva gauramūlakam grāmam avāpa.—N. M., p. 274.

³ N. M., p. 3.

well-versed in the *Vedas* with all their ancillary disciplines and was a professor of all the *Sāstras*. The authenticity of *Abhinanda's* account is attested by the author's own words in the colophon, where he describes himself as the son of *Candra*.¹ *Jayanta* was a devotee of *Śiva* and this is attested by the fact that the author makes his obeisance to the moon-crested God (*Śiva*) at the beginning and the end of the work and also in the body of the text.²

Jayanta's deep erudition in the *Mīmāṃsā* philosophy has been alluded to above. As an authority on *Nyāya*, *Jayanta's* position is unique and unchallengeable. No student of *Nyāya* can afford to neglect a study of *Jayanta's* work, which though it comes after *Uddyotakara* and probably also after *Vācaspati Miśra*, is not a compendium of their works, but on the other hand, is full of original views and solutions of the old problems. In fact, a fuller and abler vindication of the *Nyāya* position and of Realism for that matter cannot be expected. His intimate and at the same time thorough-going knowledge of Buddhist philosophy, as propounded by *Dignāga* and *Dharmakīrti* can only be compared with that of *Kumārila* and *Vācaspati Miśra*. He always speaks with authority and from first-hand knowledge. What strikes the reader most is the fact that he elucidates the position of the opponent in so thorough and clear language that no better representation of these rival theories could be expected even from their own exponents. There is no mincing of matters, no prevarication, no evasion of the issue. In this respect, his intellectual honesty and fairness can only be compared with those of *Sāntarakṣita*, another master-mind that India produced. In versatility and wide range of scholarship he can only be levelled with *Vācaspati Miśra* and as an original thinker and in clarity of vision he can compare with *Nāgārjuna*

¹ See the Introduction by the Editor.

² See the introductory verses and the colophon and the concluding verse of the *āhika*, p. 232.

and *Dharmakīrti*. India would have become poorer and her cultural heritage would have suffered a heavy shrinkage if Jayanta had not been born.

But the most striking fact of all which distinguishes *Jayanta* from the rest of his equals and which invests him with a halo of majesty and extorts our unstinted admiration and ungrudging homage is his profound modesty verging on self-effacement. In the introductory verses he respectfully appeals to the learned world to favour his work with a cursory glance. He forswears all claims to originality, (which an impartial reader finds in abundance in his work though). "This my work is an extract of the excellent juice drawn from the efficacious plants of the forest of *Nyāya*," says *Jayanta*. "It is the cream as it were, churned off from the milk of *ānvīkṣikī* (the science of logic). No original matter forsooth! We have not the requisite gifts to conceive any original theory. The learned will have to content themselves with only a novel plan of arrangement of the old matters. Even the same old flowers, that have been used more than once in personal embellishments, do not fail to rouse the curiosity of experts when presented in a garland of unique plan of arrangement.....(My appeal will not be in vain inasmuch as) the ways of the learned are peculiar. They are not satisfied with their own virtues, though their number is legion; but they are transported with joy at the sight of merits in others, however small." This is not false modesty inspired by convention. These words have a ring of sincerity about them. *Jayanta*'s humility is evidenced in another place in a context where he could quite gracefully make an exhibition of his superiority over the ancient doctors, whose opinions were ruthlessly controverted by him. After refuting the doctrine of *Vākyasphoṭa* (the existence of the sentence as an indivisible metaphysical entity) held by the grammarians, he enumerated the theories of some older *Naiyāyikas*, which were subjected by him to damaging objections. Last of all he quoted *in extenso* the hypothesis put forward

by *Saṅkarasvāmin* as an improvement upon the previous theories. But *Jayanta* is rather too hard upon him and ridicules his scholarship as a paragon of originality (ironically of course).¹ The object of the present article is not to set out the relative merits or defects of these theories, but only to show the real character of *Jayanta* as a man and an author. His criticism of *Saṅkarasvāmin* has roused the mettle of his hypothetical opponent, who then challenges him to formulate a faultless hypothesis of his own, and thus to justify his ridicule of the previous writers on *Nyāya*. *Jayanta* in the end puts forward a theory of his own, but his modesty here prevents him from taking any credit for the same. He propounds his hypothesis in a tentative fashion and claims neither originality nor infallibility for the same. For in answer to the challenge of the opponent he frankly pleads inability to create an original theory. To quote his words, "This my poor intellect is not capable of observing even a straw that has not been seen by the ancient doctors who observed even the minutest details." "But why this craving then for writing books," queries the opponent, "which should be undertaken by men of trained intellect only?" *Jayanta* replies, "The craving should not be censured but the task of instruction (of pupils) and there is no cessation of this. As for my poor self, I have been thrown by the king as a prisoner in this cavern where no human voice can enter and I have beguiled my days here by this diversion of writing a book."² *Jayanta* utters these words in quite a casual way. He forswears all claims to originality and tries to make out that he made his decision to write a book rather

1 *Āstām apūrvam idaṁ Saṅkarasvāmināḥ pāṇḍityam.*—N. M., p. 393. *Saṅkarasvāmin* is an older *Naiyāyika* and is often quoted or referred to in the *Tattvasaṅgraha*. The views of one *Saṅkara* have been criticised by *Ratnakīrti* in his *Kṣāṇabhāṅgasiddhi* and I am tempted to believe that he is *Saṅkarasvāmin*. He is certainly not the great *Vedāntist*, as the views are obviously those of a *Naiyāyika*.—SBNT., p. 57.

2 *Vide* N. M., p. 394 : *rājā tu gahvare 'emin naśabdake bandhane vinihito 'ham. grantharacanāvinodād iha hi mayā vāsarā gamitḥ.*—*Ibid.*

as a matter of necessity than of choice. He has not a harsh word for the royal tyrant who sentenced him to pass the life of a prisoner in a dismal dungeon. It seems to be a miracle how could a much persecuted man like him maintain his sunny geniality and never-failing humour, which however finds frequent vent in caustic sarcasm against the rival philosophers. He does not rebuke fate, nor does this strange inequity detract a little from his faith in God and his justice. History repeated itself in the person of his illustrious compatriot, the late Lokamānya Bālgangādhār Tilak, who wrote his immortal *Gītārahasya* while serving out a sentence of imprisonment. But strangest of all is the fact that *Jayanta*, who had enough reason to be bitter against these royal despots, actually pays a compliment to *Śaṅkaravarman*, for suppressing a newfangled religious rite which was immoral. We should advert to this matter more fully later on. Let it suffice here to state that *Sankaravarman* was one of the most unscrupulous tyrants that disgraced the throne of Kashmir, the birthplace of the author. Vincent Smith says in his *Early History of India* :—"The next king Sankaravarman (883-902 A.D.) distinguished himself in war, but is chiefly remembered as the author of an ingenious system of fiscal oppression, and the plunderer of temple treasures." We cannot but admire the innate charity and goodness of *Jayanta* that he should refer to this hated tyrant in such respectful language, though he might have done a good act, which pales into insignificance in the midst of an unbroken record of unmitigated tyranny and oppression.

Jayanta's Versatility and Breadth of Intellectual Sympathy.

Jayanta was a man of versatile talents. He was a poet of no mean order and his mastery of a facile diction is evidenced in his prose style, which for its grace and easy flow has not been surpassed except by *Śaṅkarācārya*, and *Vācaspati Miśra*. His

poetry is pithy, graceful, and what is more, is rich in its aesthetic appeal. Rightly could his son aver that the Muse of learning found her fulfilment in poetry and eloquence in the person of our author. *Jayanta* was not only a poet in himself, but his appreciation of *Kālidāsa* and *Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa* shows that professional philosophy and aesthetic culture can be combined in one person. For *Kālidāsa*, the author's admiration is boundless; "*Kālidāsa's* poetry forsooth is saturated with nectar; it is besmeared as it were with sandal-paste; nay, it seems to be shot through and through with the moon's light." "And *Bāṇa*," the author is emphatic, "has really astounded the whole world of poets by his spirited diction admirably matched to an equally masterful sentiment."¹ His quotation from *Māgha* to illustrate the mooted logical doctrine that variation in presentation is due to variation in the objective data and not to the medium of cognition (which however is the rival position and not endorsed by the author) clearly proves that his scholarly interests were not confined to his special subject but proceeded far afield. In fact, the first-class thinkers and philosophers, that India produced, were never men of narrow interests. *Bharṭṛhari* was not a mere grammarian, but a philosopher and poet of no mean order. So also was *Ānandavardhana* not only a literary critic, but was a professional philosopher also. The great *Śaṅkarācārya* should not be regarded as a philosopher only (though his philosophy is undoubtedly the most powerful and the most profound system that has ever been produced on Indian soil). *Śaṅkara's* position as the master of a wonderful style is second to none. the professional literateurs included. Even the astute logician of Bengal, the founder of *Nadīyā* school of *Navyanyāya* (neo-logic), *Raghunātha*, was a man of versatile interests and a poet none the less.² It is a pity and one of the signs of present-day

¹ *amṛtene 'va saṁśiktāś candanane' va carcitāḥ |*
candrūśubhir ivo 'dgbṛṣṭāḥ Kālidāsaśya sūktayaḥ ||
Prakaṣaṇasānuṇaṇavikaṭākṣararacanācamatkāritasakalakavikulā Bāṇasya vācaḥ,
op. cit., p. 236.

² *Vide the Introduction to the Vyāptipañcaka by Rajendranath Ghosh.*

intellectual degradation among the majority of orthodox Pandits to-day (there are noble exceptions whose number however is small) that the craze for specialisation in one branch of study prevents them from cultivating a first-hand acquaintance with other disciplines and the result has been a stagnation of thought. But this was not the case in old times. *Vācaspati* is regarded rather as an exception than a type. But *Jayanta Bhaṭṭa* should dispel all illusion in this matter. He was no doubt a professional *Naiyāyika* and is admitted on all hands to be the foremost exponent of the school next to *Vācaspati* and his predecessors. But his study of the other cognate systems of philosophy and even of law and poetry and æsthetics is so profound and meticulous that it extorts the tribute of our sincere admiration mixed with feelings of awe. *Jayanta's* interest in poets and their works has been set forth above. His acquaintance with the *Dhvani* theory as systematised by *Ānandavardhana* is clearly deducible from his reference to the same (p. 48). "By the same logic of the unsuspected powers of word the doctrine of *Dhvani* is refuted, which has been propounded by another fellow, who considered himself a real scholar. Well, when a negation is understood from affirmation or affirmation from negation in such sentences as 'Freely walk, O pious man' or 'Don't enter my room, O traveller,' it is entirely due to the common efficiency of 'words' alone. Or perhaps we should not engage in such controversy with the poets. Even scholars are bewildered as to the import of sentences and so let us drop this discourse. It is certainly an exceedingly difficult matter and is beyond the province of logicians" (pp. 48-49). *Jayanta* has the generosity to admit that æsthetics forms a separate line of thought and logicians should not impose their canons upon it. *Jayanta's* deep erudition in *Mīmāṃsā* has been alluded to more than once. His admiration for 'grammar' indeed exceeds all our expectations. There is an amusing tradition that the *Naiyāyikas* consider themselves a privileged class, who can override the canons of grammar with impunity. Indeed

their contempt for grammatical accuracy has passed into a proverb. "We, *Naiyāyikas*, have no thought for the language (be it correct or not correct according to the grammarians). Our concern is with the meaning only." This is a well-known adage and the funniest thing of it is that every word of the sentence in its original Sanskrit is an instance of barbaric solecism.¹ When such indeed is the attitude of professional *Naiyāyikas* up till the present time, it is really a pleasant surprise to find our author singing the praises of grammar in superlative terms. After refuting all the charges against *vyākaraṇa*, he proves that *vyākaraṇa* (grammar) is a sacred discipline and is the most important of *Vedāṅgas* (the limbs of Vedic study—the ancillary sciences to be studied as propædæutic disciplines). It will not suit our purpose to quote *Jayanta's* words *in extenso*. 'The great sages declare that water is holier than earth and Vedic texts (*mantras*) are holier than water and of the *Sāman*, *Rk* and *Yajus*, grammar is the holiest of all.....Those men whose speech has been purified by a culture of *vyākaraṇa* are gods in human form. It is better to be born as speechless fishes in the depths of an ocean than as men whose speech is bereft of the purity born of grammatical discipline.' The author quotes *Puṣpadanta* with approval where he prays to the Goddess that if he is born in the world of mortals, let him be born in the family of grammarians so that his ears would be perpetually filled with the speeches of grammarians, soft and pure as milk and sweet as a shower of nectar-drops" (pp. 425-426). This praise of grammar as a science coming from a *Naiyāyika* should make the present-day *Naiyāyikas* think about the wisdom* of neglecting the study of this important discipline.

His Knowledge of Buddhist Philosophy.

The most important feature of the *Nyāyamañjarī* is, in our judgment, its elaborate criticism of the Buddhist philosophical

¹ *Asmāḥkāṇāṁ Naiyāyikeṣāṁ arthanā tātparyam, śabdāni koś ciutā.* •

doctrines, principally as advocated by the school of *Dignāga*. There is hardly any important topic of discussion in which the Buddhist position has not been thoroughly stated and criticised. And what makes this exposition immensely profitable to modern scholars is the fact of *Jayanta's* unimpeachable intellectual honesty. *Jayanta* is an intrepid and clean fighter. He does not seek to gain a cheap victory. And his method of fighting is scrupulously honourable and above censure. He first states his opponent's position with all its strength and then gives his answer. His representation is absolutely fair and it is no exaggeration to say that the opponent could hardly plead his case with greater chance of success. There is no mincing of matters, no special pleading, no evasion. *Jayanta* is sure of his success and of the justice of his own cause and this self-confidence keeps him above the temptation of gaining a cheap victory by resorting to unknighly resources. The truth of our statement will be found in all his controversies with the Buddhists. But to name only a few outstanding instances, we draw the attention of the reader to his discourse on 'abhāva' (negation) (pp. 49-62); on 'the doctrine of momentariness of things' (pp. 444-69); on 'apoha and the universals; (pp. 297-317); on '*Vijñānavāda*' (subjective idealism) as advocated by *Dignāga* and his followers. He refutes the views of his opponents, principally the Buddhists and *Mīmāṃsakas*, with such consummate mastery and at the same time with such scrupulous fairness and honesty that he at once enlists our sympathy and admiration. The controversy is always drawn into fundamentals and there is no attempt to side-track the discourse into unessential matters, which happens to be a regrettable characteristic of later writers on *Nyāya*. Whether one may agree or not is a different question. In the matter of fundamentals we are bound to differ. Our philosophical sympathies are determined by our intellectual make-up and our natural thought-proclivities. One is a believer in the plain verdict of intuition and experience and another is a born rationalist. And this fundamental difference in our intellectual constitution is

responsible for the division of philosophical schools into Realism and Idealism. *Jayanta Bhaṭṭa* is a realist of realists and a born idealist will not certainly see eye to eye with him. But there is absolutely no reason to question the honesty of his convictions and his fidelity to his opponents.

Jayanta and Dharmakīrti.

Jayanta's intellectual honesty and fidelity to his opponents are like Cæsar's wife above suspicion and in this respect he stands head and shoulder above many of his brother philosophers, both previous and subsequent. It is refreshing to note that he had a kindred soul in another philosopher of equal eminence, namely, *Śāntarakṣita*, the Buddhist philosopher. It is an irony of fate that men of kindred spirit should be found in hostile camps, who however should shake hands as good friends. But *Jayanta* excels even *Śāntarakṣita* in innate charity and broadness of heart. He is generous enough to have admiration for his enemies even. After adversely criticising *Dharmakīrti's* definition of perception, *Jayanta* however pays a compliment to *Dharmakīrti* for his wonderful intellect. *Jayanta's* words will bear repetition. "Though endow'd with an exceedingly fine intellect he (*Dharmakīrti*) has not been wise to incorporate in his definition¹ this pair of adjectives, which are certainly not above censure. Be that as it may, we have seen the power of intellect of this gifted *Dharmakīrti*, and how by his intellectual achievements he could overpower the whole world.²

Jayanta's admiration for *Dharmakīrti* is evidenced in other places. Where he agrees with the latter he hastens to remind the reader that his view is approved by *Dharmakīrti*. To quote an instance *Jayanta* after concluding his treatment of 'nigraha-

¹ *Dharmakīrti's* definition of perception is as follows :—'Perception is a cognition free from error and ideation.' Pratyakṣam kalpanāpodhām abhīrāntam.

² iti sunipuṣabuddhir lakṣaṇaṁ vaktukāmaḥ.

padajugalam apī 'darmā nirmāṇe nū 'navadyam.

bhavadu, matimahimnāś ceṣṭicām dṛṣṭam etaj-

jagadabbibhavadhīraṁ dhīmato Dharmakīrteḥ... —N. M., p. 100,

shanās (points of defeat) tells us that ‘even *Dharmakīrti* does not disagree about their being proper occasions of defeat’ (though he differs in respect of their number, which he reduces to two only in opposition to twenty-two varieties advocated by the *Naiyāyikas*).¹

We may be permitted to make an interesting digression in this connexion about *Dharmakīrti*. *Dharmakīrti*’s intellectual powers have been testified to by *Jayanta* in unmistakable language. This really redounds to *Jayanta*’s glory, as it proves the liberality of his heart. We have already spoken of *Jayanta*’s extraordinary modesty and this is sharply contrasted with the pride of *Dharmakīrti*, though this pride is justified by facts. But *Jayanta* could with equal justice be proud of his intellectual gifts and high attainments, but his humility borders on self-effacement. *Dharmakīrti* laments his intellectual supremacy, which, he thinks, places him beyond the reach of human understanding. “My philosophy will decay in its own body like the waters of the sea, as it will find no kindred soul who can adopt and comprehend it. Even men of uncommon intellectual power cannot gather courage enough to make an entry into it and even those who possess extraordinary application have not realised its essential significance and worth.”² This is the statement of *Dharmakīrti* himself, as *Ānandāvardhanā* assures us. *Ānandāvardhana* surmises that the following poem also belongs to *Dharmakīrti* where he calls in question the wisdom of the Creator (if there is one according to *Dharmakīrti*) for creating him with so extraordinary gifts: “What indeed was the object in the mind of the Creator when He created the delicate frame of this slim lady? He did not take into account the consumption of materials of beauty, and great indeed was the toil he had

¹ *eteṣāṃ Dharmakīrter api ca na vimatir nigrāhassthānatāyām.*—N. M., p. 659.

² *anadhyavasitāvagāhanam analpadbhīfaktinā-*

py adṛṣṭaparamārthatattvam adhikābhīyogair api.

matam mama jagaty alabdhasadrṣṭapratigrāhakaṃ.

prayāsyati payonidheḥ paya iva svadehe jarām.—*Dhvaṇyāloka*, p. 217. *Kāvya-mālā* series.

to undergo ; and (the result is) that a fever of love-sickness is produced in the hearts of men who were moving at pleasure. And this wretched girl too is to pine away in misery for want of a lover who can be a fitting match equalling her gifts.'"¹ *Ānandavardhana* after discussing the views of previous writers or teachers of poetics as to the particular figure of speech in the above śloka, comes to the conclusion that it contains the figure of *aprastutaprasāmsā*, in which one thing is described to illustrate another. And he refers to a current tradition that this was a śloka of *Dharmakīrti*, where he deploras his own lot under the figure of a lovely girl. In support of the tradition he quotes the śloka previously quoted by us as being of a piece with this śloka. We are indebted to *Ānandavardhana* for this valuable information about *Dharmakīrti*, a towering intellect, who gave a mighty blow to all realistic systems of philosophy. *Bhavadhūti*, however, found consolation in the thought that in this broad earth and infinite time there might exist or be born in future a kindred soul to appreciate his poetry, but even this consolation could not find a place in *Dharmakīrti*'s mind.

Jayanta's Humour.

No account of *Jayanta* will be complete even in outline if it fails to take note of the perennial flow of humour that enlivens his writing throughout. The discussions of dry metaphysical matters with which every page of the *Nyāyamañjarī* is loaded do not however allow the interest of the student to flag, because they are made so lively and stimulating by the author's humour. The student feels as if he holds a discourse with a living thinker. There is no air of unreality about it. The philosophical discourses seem to be the lectures of a living professor, whose learning and scholarship have not smothered the human side of the pedagogue. *Jayanta* is a stimulating person ; his thinking

¹ lāvaṇyadraviṇavyayo na gaṇitaḥ kleśo mahān 'arjitaḥ | sacchandaḥ carato janasya
hrdaye cintājvaro nirmitaḥ | eṣā, hi svaguṇānurūparamadābhāvad varākī hatā | ko 'rthas'
cetasi vedhasā vihiuitas tanvyas tanuṁ tanvatā—*Ibid.*, p. 216.

never fails to cast healthy contagion over the reader's mind. The reader enjoys the company of a living thinker, whose humour and human interest encourage him to be intimate with him. His humour is certainly caustic against his opponents, but we are tempted to think that the opponent, though covered with ridicule, cannot but enjoy the fun of it. We shall only give a few samples of his wit. In connexion with the debate on the problem of truth and validity, *Jayanta* refutes the position of the *Mīmāṃsaka* who is an advocate of the self-evidence of truth and establishes his own theory, the correspondence notion of truth. He then expounds the position of a later section of *Mīmāṃsakas* who held that even in cases of error, as, for instance, when the oyster shell is perceived to be silver, the silver is not false but a supernormal reality. The ordinary silver has a pragmatic value whereas this supernormal silver has none. But that does not connote that it is an unreal fiction. Had it been so the sensuous presentation of silver would be unaccountable. We never perceive even in error an unsubstantial fiction like a barren woman's son or a sky-flower. *Jayanta* retorts that this precious argument comes from a new creator of an absolutely new order of things. But this betrays his woeful ignorance of the psychology of origin of knowledge. The negative judgment which sets aside the previous error does not tell us that it was supernormal silver. On the contrary it plainly tells us that there was no silver at all. It will serve no purpose to twist its plain verdict, as it is not a scriptural text. Your scholastic ingenuity is out of place in this field of psychology and logic. "These modern *Mīmāṃsakas* will not hesitate to turn out even their own wives from their house, such is their love of the theory of self-validity." But even this madness will not meet his purpose, as the *Mīmāṃsaka* cannot explain why there should be any doubt if all knowledge is true and valid *per se*. (p. 188).

In another place where the debate proceeds on the uncreated character of the *Vedas*, which is the *Mīmāṃsā* position, the

Mīmāṃsaka argues that the *Vedic* texts are eternal verities and this is plainly deducible from the peculiar form of nouns and verbs, prefixes and suffixes found in the *Vedas*. "All who study the *Vedas* understand their uncreated character from their very nature, but the fame has been drunk by the *Mīmāṃsakas* alone."¹ *Jayanta's* reply contains a biting sarcasm. "Well, let the *Mīmāṃsakas* drink fame, or let them drink milk, or to remove the dulness of their intellect they may drink *Brāhmī* ghee (a well-known medicine to stimulate memory and intelligence); we shall not grudge. But there is absolutely no error in the fact that the *Vedas* are composed by a personal author."²

Again after animadverting upon the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness of all reality, *Jayanta* bursts forth into a characteristic sarcasm against the Buddhists. "These Buddhists do not believe in the existence of a permanent self, but they will worship at the *atlas* (*caityas*) for a residence in heaven. All realities have a momentary existence according to their philosophy, but they have built these monasteries (*vihāras*) which will last for centuries. They maintain that all is void, but they constantly exhort the laity to make gifts to them, their teachers. This is in short the character of the Buddhists, what else can it be if it is not hypocrisy *par excellence*."³

In connection with a dispute with the Buddhist idealists who have sought to disprove the existence of external reality on the ground that the object could neither be a distinctive whole nor a mere conglomeration of atoms, as the whole could not exist either in or apart from the parts, and the atoms would be

¹ tenā 'dhyetṛgaṇāḥ sarve rūpād Vedam akṛtrimam | manyanta eva loke tu pītam mīmāṃsakair yaśaḥ.—N.M. p. 236.

The Sanskrit poets describe fame as a white liquid like milk and so 'acquiring of fame' is described as 'drinking of fame.' This is called poetic convention (*kavisamaya*).

² *Mīmāṃsaka* yaśaḥ pibantu, payo vā pibantu, buddhijāḍyāpanayanāya brāhmighṛtaṃ vā pibantu, Vedas tu puruṣaprapīta eva nā 'tra bhrāntiḥ.—N.M., p. 236.

³ Nā 'sty ātmā phalabhogamātram atha ca svargāya caityārcaṇam | saṃekārāḥ kṣaṇikā yugasthitibhṛtaś cai 'te viḥārāḥ kṛtāḥ | sarvaṃ sūnyam idaṃ vasūni gurave dehi 'ti cā 'disa yate | hauddhānāṃ caritaṃ kiṃ anyad iyaṭi dambhasya bhūmiḥ parā.—*Ibid*, p. 467.

beyond the ken of perceptual cognition, *Jayanta* observes with his characteristic humour that these Buddhist idealists have made greater fools of themselves than the afore-mentioned Buddhist monks, who sought to prove by an appeal to experience the identity of awareness and its contents on the ground of their invariable concomitance. These Buddhists indeed have chalked out a new line of debate when they give wide berth to experience and try to determine the nature of the ultimate reality by cracking the knuckles of their fingers. Now, we beg to submit to these Buddhists that if the 'whole' of which you are speaking, is cognised by an uncontradicted and unfaltering experience, then why these silly arguments? If on the other hand, you maintain that the 'whole' is not cognised by any accepted medium of knowledge, you should say that straight-forward. What is the use of this dialectic of existence in or apart from the parts? Well, we confess, we are tired of quarrelling with these Buddhist acrobats (*Sākyanartuka*), who will dish up the old matters again and again, though there is nothing new in their arguments.¹

Jayanta has a fling at the *Jainas* too. "These *Jainas*," says *Jayanta*, "are really conversant with the secrets of ultimate reality. They have discovered a short-cut to salvation and they prescribe these recipes, which they themselves practise, true to their words. 'Tear out all hair from the head, clothe your person with the sky (be nude), and mount up the high mountains and tramp on and round the wide earth.'" Bald-headed persons are to be envied, because they have no hair on their heads; and birds and beasts, which have no care for clothes, sky-clad as they are like the *Jaina* ascetics, will have an instantaneous cessation of rebirth. And these blessed hill-men, who make a profession

¹ *apūrva eṣa tarkamārgo yatra pratītiṃ utarjya tarjanīvisphoṭanena vastuvyavasthāḥ kriyante na ca śaknumaḥ pade pade vyaṃ ebhir abhinavam alpam api kiñcid apaśyadbhis tad eva punaḥ punaḥ prakurvadbhiḥ Sākyanartakaiḥ saha kalaham atimātram kartum.*—N.M., pp. 549-50.

of constantly climbing up the mountains, will have an easy walk-over to salvation. Who else but the sapient *Jainas* could teach of this easiest and nearest road to salvation? ¹

The account is far from exhaustive; only an attempt has been made to show the author in his characteristic mood. And we have chosen the samples at random and their number can be multiplied to any extent.

A Boundless Religious Toleration combined with an Unsurpassable Religious Faith.

We had occasion already to make mention of *Jayanta's* unflinching faith in *Vedic* religion and of his devotion to *Siva*, who has been the ruling deity of Kashmir Hindus from a very ancient date. He is a staunch believer in the *Varṇāśramadharmā* as taught in the *Vedas*. But his faith in the *Vedas* is on a par with his faith in the *smṛtis*. He is a theist and the *Vedas* are authoritative only because they are the words of God. Being a believer in *Yogins* and their supernatural powers he does not hesitate to equate the *smṛtis* as composed by *Manu* and the like with the revealed literature, which two he holds to be of co-ordinate rank and authority. He does not insist that the *smṛtis* are only compilations and are authoritative to the extent of their fidelity to the *Vedas*. *Jayanta* again differs from *Kumārila* in the matter of the *Atharva-Veda*, which he holds to be authoritative and binding equally with the other *Vedas*. The appellation of triple (*trayī*) *Vedas* has reference to the matter and not to the number and so there should be no hesitation to accept the *Atharva-Veda* as equally a revealed authority. But *Jayanta's*

¹ kacaniḥcanadikpatadhāraṇa-
kṣitiparāḥkramapakramapūrvakam.
kṣapapakās tva 'pavargam uśanty ami
atitarāṁ paramārthavidas tu te.

lounāṁ nityam asambhavāt khalatayo mokṣaṁ kṣanāt prāpnuyuḥ.
saṁsāroparamo digambaratayā sadyas tiraścām bhavet.
muktāḥ syur giriśṛṅgayāyina ime śśvat tadārohanāḥ-
jantūmām apavargavartma nikaṣaṁ kene 'dṛṣaṁ darśitam.

Ibid, p. 552.

catholicity is not confined within the narrow limits of *Vedic* literature. He readily accepts the authority of the *Saivāgamas* and the *Pañcarātras*, as they also are believed to be the creations of God. These sectarian scriptures are not antagonistic to *Vedic* religion, although they lay down certain rites and ceremonials which are new. They neither deny nor conflict with the authority of the *Vedas* like the scriptures of such heretics as the Buddhists. *Jayanta Bhaṭṭa* tells us that there are some thinkers among the Hindus who hold that the Buddhist scriptures are certainly outside the pale of Vedic religion, as they deny caste system and caste duties. *Buddha* and other teachers of his ilk cannot be accepted as trustworthy teachers, though they are believed by their followers to be omniscient persons. They were certainly actuated by such base motives as personal honour or vanity when they set up these anti-Vedic sects. This is testified to by the conduct of the majority of good people who observe *Vedic* religion and avoid these heterodox practices. And even wicked heretics as the Buddhists and the like pay an unacknowledged homage to the authority of the *Vedas* when they avoid the touch of the *Pariah* and such other impure castes. When they have given up all caste pride and prejudice, what fault is there in the touch of these people? And as for other heretics, who indulge as a matter of religion in such impious practices as eating of unholy food, promiscuous sex relations and initiation into mysteries and so on, even they cannot perform these immoral practices in public. Why this uncanny secrecy if they are not afraid of the censure of the four castes? ¹ Take for instance the case of the '*Saṃsāra-mocakas*.' All pious men avoid their contact and if they are accidentally touched by them, the wise and the good take a full ablution along with their clothes to ward off the pollution and the

¹ It will be a really interesting finding if further details are known about this sect which was held in such contempt by the Brāhmins and the Buddhists alike. My ex-pupil, Mr. Narendranath Choudhury, M.A., of Ramjas College, Delhi, suggests that they were perhaps a class of Saivas, who carried the linga of Siva always in their person and were universally despised on account of their unclean habits and immoral practices. They lived in cremation grounds far from society. But the exact name has not been found in any Tantra text,

Buddhists too have no dealings with them. These heretics have got their scriptures too, but these are spurious imitations of the *Vedas*. The mode of instruction and the character of injunctions are entirely on a par with those of the *Vedas* and *Vedic* matters are incorporated in them at regular intervals. All this proves that even these heretics are conscious in their heart of hearts of the infallibility of the *Vedas*. But such far-flung influence as the *Veda* possesses is not noticed in other scriptures and its adoption by the majority of good and pious persons constitutes an unimpeachable evidence of its authority. There is no necessity for writing an *apologia* in its defence and only when some wicked people seek to confound its authority, that we have to resort to this weapon of logical defence in the shape of scientific treatises. So only the aforesaid scriptures are authoritative and not those scriptures, which are obviously outside the pale of *Vedic* religion.

But this is only the view of one section of thinkers. There are others who hold all the scriptures of all sects and schools of thought as equally authoritative and true. The grounds of reliability are equally present in all. There is the same uncontradicted and unwavering delivery of truth and in case of injunctions which are delivered as effective of temporal good there is the same amount of partial verification of their truth as in similar *Vedic* injunctions. And it is equally open to us to infer that the authors of these scriptures are all-knowing, merciful persons who realised the truth of all these statements in their personal experience as in the case of the *Vedas*. It is undeniable that there is mutual contradiction among the dictates of the various scriptures, but contradiction as such is immaterial. Even in the *Vedic* texts there is mutual contradiction, some texts permitting drinking of wine, animal sacrifice, etc., and others prohibiting the same. They have reference to different persons of different equipment and capacity. After all the differences are in regard to unessential matters; there is agreement so far as the main objective is concerned, as they equally

conduce to the best interests of the persons following their dictates. There is divergence in the ways and means, no doubt, but they all lead to the same goal, *viz.*, salvation, verily as all rivers ultimately reach the ocean. There is absolutely no quarrel about the Final Release, which is the common objective, though divergence regarding the nature of the self seems to be uncompromising. For instance, the *Sāṅkhyas* maintain that differentiation of Spirit and Matter is the means and that the Self is to be realised as absolutely unrelated to matter and its affections. The Buddhists deny the existence of any such spiritual entity only with a view to discouraging egoism and self-love. The Buddhist idealists and a class of the *Mādhyamikas* believe pure self-transparent consciousness to be the ultimate reality, but this is as good as the Self, though there may be difference of opinion as to whether it is a changing continuum or a transcendental entity, absolutely changeless and uniform. So there is no material divergence so far as the fundamentals are concerned. There may be difference in practical ritualism and religious practices, but these are unessential details and no sane man should quarrel over the accidental appendages. What does it matter if one sect prefers to grow matted hair and besmears their persons with ashes, another carries the staff and water-pot, a third uses a red-coloured vest and the fourth puts premium on nudity? And if attention is focussed upon these trivial matters and this misdirected emphasis is allowed to foment communal quarrels, there can be no amity among the followers of *Vedic* religion even. The differences in details of *Vedic* ceremonies are not inconsiderable even when the object to be attained is self-identical. So one should not make capital out of these differences in unessentials.

And if there is divergence on some fundamental doctrine, even this cannot vitiate the validity of the scripture in question. Nor should any objection be raised on the ground that some scriptures advocate certain practices which are abominable and morally reprehensible. Because, after all, our ideas of moral

fitness or holy and unholy substances are all fostered by the habits of our life and thought which are in their turn moulded by the philosophy and religious discipline to which we are born. Thus our personal feelings should not be allowed to determine the validity or the invalidity of a scripture in question. There are persons whose love and kindness towards all sentient creatures make them feel abhorrence for such *Vedic* rites as involve animal sacrifice. But if this is not regarded as damaging to the validity of the *Vedas*, why should our abhorrence for such practices as drinking from a human skull, etc., stand in the way of the authority of the *Saivāgamas*? And as regards the condemnation of caste divisions in the Buddhist scriptures, the underlying motive is to commend the cultivation of mercy and love for all sentient beings and the text should not be taken too literally. That this is the real purport of such scriptural denunciations is proved by the fact that even in Buddhist scriptures there is an express injunction prohibiting the taking into orders of persons who are low-born and physically defective.¹

So we should consider the scriptures of all schools as equally valid and authoritative, as their authors whether *Kapila*, or the *Buddha* or the *Arhat* were trustworthy teachers of humanity.

Others again hold that God alone is the author of all scriptures. He has to teach people out of mercy and he modifies his teaching in accordance with the taste and capacity of the followers. And for this He appears on earth under the forms of a *Kapila*, or a *Buddha* or an *Arhat*. It will be an unnecessarily cumbrous hypothesis to postulate the existence of so many different omniscient teachers. Contradictions and discrepancies are to be explained after the standard of the *Vedas* themselves, which contain such discrepancies in no inconsiderable degree. The numerical strength or weakness of the sects should not be construed either as an excellence or a defect of the

¹ yad api Buddhāgame jātivādanirākaraṇam tad api sarvānugraha-pravaṇakaruṇāśīlasya, prāśaśnāpāram, na ca yathāśrutam avagantavyam. tathā ca tatrai 'tat paṭhyate' na jātikāyaduṣṭān pravrajayed 'iti.—N.M., p. 268.

scriptures concerned. God had to modify this teaching according to the intellectual and moral equipment of his followers. Hence the apparent contradictions and inconsistencies. There are some thinkers again who maintain that all scriptures are derived from the *Vedas* and so they are true and valid equally with the religion that passes for *Vedic*. The *Vedas* are infinite in their range and variety. It is quite probable that the so-called heretical schools had a foundation in some particular school of *Vedas*, which is not current to-day. But the *cārvākas* who deny after-life and preach an extreme form of hedonism as their religion stand in a different category. The *cārvākas* have no religion at all. They do not prescribe any duty, or give any counsel for discipline. Their sole concern seems to be to deny the validity of all religious and moral disciplines. They have no system of philosophy, much less a religious creed. Their philosophy and religion, if they can lay pretensions to any, are at best a negation of all philosophy and religion. They sometimes quote scriptural passages in support of their position; but these passages are all selected from the *primā facie* position of the sceptics, which has been elaborately refuted in the scriptures themselves. They give such counsels as 'A man should live happily so long as his life lasts,' 'one must not believe in the injunctions of the *Sāstras* and seek to curtail his happiness by undergoing the useless privations enjoined by them.' But these are no counsels at all. People do not stand in need of being taught the duty of pursuing their own happiness and comforts. All their natural energies are bent towards self-enjoyment. It is religion and ethics which seek to put a brake upon these natural tendencies towards pleasure-hunting, and the purpose of religion and ethical discipline is to conserve these animal energies and harness them to the evolution of the perfect man from the animal. The objective of all scriptures is this attainment of perfection by arresting the natural gravitation towards animality and so all religions are considered by us to contain truth, irrespective of their differences in procedure and method of approach.

But the opponent may urge, "if you are so liberal in your interpretation, some one of us may compose a scripture to-day and this will pass muster in course of a few days or years and its affiliation to the *Vedas* may be established by the same logic. And it is not an unusual phenomenon that some impostors lay hold of an old manuscript and preach a new religion even to-day." Not so, we reply. There is no such loophole in our position. What we maintain is this, that those scriptures and creeds, which have gained currency among a large body of men and which are accepted by a good many men of culture and trained intellect, and which do not look like new-fangled creations, invented by scheming persons for the furtherance of their greed or vanity or some such sordid motive, only such scriptures are regarded by us as authoritative, notwithstanding the fact that they might have been promulgated very recently. Of course, works like the '*Kuṭṭinīmatam*'¹ are never looked upon as reliable scriptures. And the position we have adopted has the sanction of history. King *Saṅkaravarman* suppressed a new-fangled religious rite called '*Nīlāmbaravrata*' (the rite of Blue Robe), which was invented by some profligate persons. The rite was celebrated by means of a piece of cloth of inordinate length, covered in which an indefinite number of men and women performed various acts and it was set in vogue under the name of the 'Blue Robe Festival.' King *Saṅkaravarman*, who was well-versed in the mysteries of religion, suppressed this innovation but not *Jaina* and other religions.² If Jainism, Buddhism and the like had been really false religions, they would positively have met with ruthless suppression at the hands of that pious king. *Jayanta* ultimately winds up this discourse by

¹ The *Kuṭṭinīmatam* or *Kuttanīmatam* was composed by *Dāmodaragupta*, who was a minister of King *Jayāpiṇḍa* of Kashmir (779-813 A.D.). Literally the title means 'the Advice of a Hetæra.' In it an old hetæra advises a young girl how to gain wealth by using all the arts of flattery and pretended love.

² amiteikapaṭaṇanivītāniyatastripuṃsavihitabahuceṣṭam |
nīlāmbaravratam idaṃ kīla kalpitam aśid viṭaiḥ kaś cit |
tad apūrvam iti viditvā nivārayāṃśā dharmatattvajñaḥ | rājā Saṅkaravarmaḥ na
*punar jainādimatam evam—N.M., p. 271.

an appeal to all persons of unbiassed judgment to accept his finding that there is truth in all the various scriptures held sacred by the different sects and creeds and whether this truth is derived from the respective prophets and teachers or from their affiliation to the *Vedas* or from their origin from God Himself in His various incarnations, any one of these theories, he believes, should satisfy the fanatic that there is no monopoly of truth in the sphere of religion. It is a matter of no small gratification to find at this distance of time that what *Jayanta* sought to prove and convince his contemporaries by logic was attested in the life and experience of the great sage of Dakṣiṇeśvara, the Prophet of the new era, Śrī Rāmakṛiṣṇa Deva, who realised in his *sādhana* the essential truth and unity of all religious creeds and disciplines. It is a matter of history now at this stage how the great Saint practised the various courses of discipline formulated by the diverse religions and arrived at the self-same Truth. Religion has a social and a political aspect, no doubt ; but these should be regarded by all right-thinking men as the outer shell of the kernel of truth, which owns no political or geographical barrier. Religious feuds always owned their origin to a confusion between the ephemeral and the eternal. It would be a happy consummation if we had the robust faith of *Jayanta* together with his catholicity. (N.M., pp. 255-272.)

Jayanta's Date and Place of Birth.

It is really a matter of gratification that we can fix the date of *Jayanta Bhaṭṭa* within narrow limits, although he has not cared to record his date like *Vācaspati Miśra* and *Udayana*. His great-grandfather *Śaktisvāmin* was a minister of King *Muktapiḍa* of the *Karkoṭa* dynasty, who received investiture as king of Kashmir from the Emperor of China in 733 A.D. This shows that *Jayanta* was an inhabitant of Kashmir and we can easily infer from his frequent reference to *Gauramūlaka*, the village which his grandfather obtained as a gift, that the author was a resident and perhaps owner of that village (N. M., pp. 50, 53,

215). His reference to the *Dhvani* theory shows his acquaintance with the work of *Ānandavardhana*, who flourished in the days of *Āvantivarman*, who ruled Kashmir from 855 to 883 A.D. His mention of *Śaṅkaravarman*, who ruled Kashmir from 883 to 902 A.D., as a past king evidently proves that he lived after that date. He has not mentioned by name the particular king who kept him a prisoner in a solitary cell and thus gave him the fillip to write his epoch-making work. We shall not perhaps err by a long distance if we suppose that this royal tyrant referred to by *Jayanta* was either the child-king *Pārtha* or his father, *Paṅgu* who acted as the regent. In the reign of this child-king, Kashmir was visited with an awful famine in the year 917-18. *Pārtha* was an unscrupulous tyrant and used to chastise his people with whips. It is quite probable that our author incurred the displeasure of this tyrant and as a consequence was clapped within prison bars. *Jayanta* evidently belonged to a family, the members of which were certainly very long-lived. The distance between him and his great-grandfather was nearly two hundred years and it is extremely probable that *Jayanta* was fairly advanced in age when he wrote his immortal work in a prison. We can conclude therefore that *Jayanta* flourished in the first quarter of the 10th century A.D. And this is supported by collateral evidence as well. *Jayanta* has not referred to any author later than that date. He has referred to *Dharmakīrti*, *Kumārila*, *Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa*, and *Śaṅkarasvāmin*, who all flourished before the 8th century A.D. He has alluded to *Govindasvāmin* as a pattern of unattachment to worldly possessions and pleasures (p. 294). We feel tempted to believe that this *Govindasvāmin* was perhaps the teacher of *Śaṅkarācārya*, who always refers to himself as a pupil of the venerable teacher *Govinda* (*Govindabhagavatpūjyapādaśiṣya*). *Jayanta* has not mentioned *Vācaspati Miśra*; but there is every probability that he came after *Vācaspati* and was acquainted with his masterly work '*Tātparyatīkā*.' The editor, MM. Gangādhara Śāstrin has read an allusion to *Vācaspati* in two different places in the

Nyāyamañjarī. But *Jayanta* in one place at any rate quotes from the *Vākya-padīya* of *Bhartṛhari* and not from the *Bhāmātī* as the editor supposes.¹ In another place it is doubtful whether *Jayanta* quotes from the *Tātparyāṭīkā*, as the view referred to does not agree on all fours with what is given in the *Tātparyāṭīkā*, though there is close similarity.² *Vācaspati* records his date of composition of the *Nyāyasūcinibandha* (Index to the *Nyāya Sūtras*) as the year 898. This should be regarded in the *Samvat* era and not perhaps the *Saka* era, as the latter alternative will make *Vācaspati* a contemporary of *Udayana*, who wrote his *Lakṣaṇāvali* in the *Saka* year 905. But as *Udayana* wrote a commentary on *Vācaspati's Tātparyāṭīkā*, we shall have to allow a sufficient margin so that *Vācaspati's* work would gain celebrity enough to call for a commentary. It is absolutely beyond the shadow of doubt that *Jayanta Bhaṭṭa* preceded *Udayana*. Whether *Jayanta* preceded or succeeded *Vācaspati Miśra* is to be settled by the date of *Vācaspati*, which can be computed either in the *Saka* or in the *Samvat* era. It is significant that *Jayanta* does not quote *Vācaspati Miśra* in so many words. But *Jayanta* gives fuller exposition of the *Nyāya* doctrines than what is found in the *Tātparyāṭīkā* and it is doubtful if *Vācaspati* could give scantier treatment of those topics if he really followed him and was acquainted with his work. *Vācaspati*, however, has quoted from *Dharmottara* and if *Dharmottara's* date is 847 A.D., as proposed by the late Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *Vācaspati* should be regarded as a living contemporary of *Dharmottara*, if the date 898 be construed in terms of the *Samvat* era. If it is regarded as a *Saka* year, *Vācaspati* would be a contemporary of *Udayana*.³ About *Jayanta's* date however we have no

¹ Vide N.M., p. 120 (Foot-note).

² Ibid, p. 66, and Tāt.-ṭi, pp. 102-103.

³ Yathā 'ha Dharmottaraḥ, 'buddhyā kalpikayā viviktaṁ aparair yad rūpam ullikhate | buddhir na na bahir 'iti.—Tāt. ti., p. 435.

uncertainty, though his priority or posteriority to *Vācaspati* must be left a moot question for the present.

SATKARI MOOKERJEE

Abbreviations used :

N. M. = Nyāyamañjarī.

SBNT. = Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts (A.S.B. Publication).

Tāt-ṭi = Nyāyavārtikatātparyāṭikā (Ben. edn.).

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THE POET

Like a sad thought hiding from its happier companions in some corner of the mind, a poet sat seeking shelter in a lonely hermitage. He had seen the dance of life in the waves of the ocean, in the festival of Nature, at the wedding of the Dawn. He had heard the plaintive flute-call of pain inviting him beyond the farthest limits of the earth. He had climbed the casements of the moonlight and had stood at the doors of the palace of Beauty. From the chalice of the lotus he had tasted the dewy wine of love. Yet his heart was not satisfied. It was hungry. And as he sat alone he cried out in a tone of entreaty,

“ Entangled in the folds of Earth’s perfume
My heart feels sick of gloom :
Release me with some great volcanic thought
With heavenly fire fraught !
The widowed Night in her dark arms doth hold
My spirit lank and cold :
Love snatch it up and show its sunny light
Of hope, endeavour bright ! ”

He repeated the words with variations, in trailing syncopations, until the very walls caught and echoed each line.

Like the smoke of Cain’s sacrifice this cry seemed to be scattered by envious winds, and never seemed to reach the ears of Love. And like Cain the poet felt himself cursed to be an aimless, a companionless, homeless wanderer all these days. Sitting alone in that quiet hermitage, *far from the madding crowd*, he ventured to take out from the treasure-chest of his memory, one by one, the jewels of hope that he had found on his wanderings ; gazed at them ; and laid them by. One was an opal, a pretty opal, an opal that is said to spell misfortune. He kissed it ; and as he laid it away it began to shed a pale opalescence that lit the whole cell. Just as a fairy clothed in the folds

of ethereal lusture leaps to sight from the deep shadows of a forest, so from the darkness of the night in this opalescent flame a fairy form took shape.

The poet gazed intently at it. The more he gazed, the more familiar it seemed to be. Presently, he found it was a dream of a princess he had seen, where and when he could not recall. The delicate contours of her body grew distinct. Her eyes were of that tint which bespeaks feelings as tender as the rose, thoughts as delicate as dew.

She—"Great men of the world have been so good as to take notice of me. Poets of world-wide reputation have sung me songs that merited the record of time. O poet, will you not sing me one?"

He—"What song will please your ears, oh, Fairy Queen?"

She—"Sure you could choose. But if you leave the choice to me, why, sing of Dawn, the symbol of the new-born life."

The poet took his lyre and from its tensioned strings poured forth the quivering song of Dawn.

She—"My dream Prince, will you turn out after all a dream?.....And yet if I can reach you by my thoughts you will be real to me."

He—"I am not worthy. But wrapped in the light of your worthiness my deficiencies will be concealed. Oh you can make me worthy, my Inspirer!"

She—"You flatter me! You hardly know how I admire you!"

He—"Nor do you know how much my heart is filled with thankfulness for all that your presence has meant to me. I was brooding in my cell, having lost sight of life's vision. You have brought me my old vision, you have revealed it to me more clearly, and all I ask is, keep this vision before my eyes till death dims my sight!"

She—"Your words are wonderful. If I can bring one ray of light into your life, I will."

He—"Pray, what is your name? And who are you?"

She—"They call me Fame...Who am I?.....Ask me nothing of myself. For my life is full of misery."

He—"Tell me all, and let me assure you, my heart will feel more than my lips may say, since I have known the ache, the fever, and the fret."

She—"I was betrothed to Desire. He loved me once. But he has changed, and...thereby hangs a tale."

The poet rose from his seat and would have run to hold the figure in his arms, but it vanished. What did it all mean? He mused awhile. Then, as if his brain had been affected with some liquor, he rushed into the shadows of the night. A few pale stars broke the monotony of the darkness. But there was nothing else to guide him on his quest.

Like the Yaksha in exile the poet asked clouds to bear his message to his strange Fairy Queen. For many a dreary day he ran along some mountain-crag, down dale, up hill, beside some rippling brook, nor heeded sun or rain. Sometimes, a gale of wind that bore the perfume of *champa*-flowers reminded him of her breath. Sometimes, the music of a *bulbul* reminded him of her lyric voice. And he followed the unseen guide without hesitation. He let the current of his destiny take him anywhere. He felt animated with a faith that somewhere his pilgrimage would end and his worship would begin.

And the poet's faith was requited. He did not need to journey long. In a month he came upon a fair city built at the foot of the snow-capped mountains. As he walked along the avenue of tall shady trees, he sang,

"For others blaze of banners proud and high,
And many a gorgeous, gay triumphant arch,—
They are the victor's, 'victory' 's their cry:
For me the triumph of an unknown march.

For others clash of cymbal, beat of drum,
Vibrating twang of the guitar that moves
With dancing ecstasy the spirit dumb:
For me the silence that love's music proves.

For others laughter sullied not by tears,
Loud-voiced jollity and rocking swings,
The cup in which are drowned all earthly fears:
For me the joy that sorrow's opiate brings.

For others crowded hours of comradeship,
That turns to paradise this earthly sod,
The chatter that lends smiles to many a lip:
For me the loneliness that glimpses God. "

As he was singing the last stanza he passed under the royal balcony of a palace. The grandeur of the palace struck him as wonderful, and, as if intuitively, he cast a glance upward.

A smile caught his eye. It was a face he seemed to have seen before. He seemed to recognize the child-like contours of the body, the tint of the eyes that bespeaks feelings as tender as the rose, thoughts as delicate as dew. He stood gazing. The princess disappeared for a few moments, and as he looked about in perplexity, she appeared before him.

He—"O! my Fairy Queen! Are you the princess that visited me in a vision at my lonely hermitage? "

She—"Hush!... Come to my garden, . and...if you will sing me a song..."

The princess led the poet to her beauteous garden laid out with artistic taste, and tended with loving care.

He—"What...Oh! what am I to sing? "

She—"Sing what you will. Lay no restraint upon your soul! "

He—"I sent you a message through a soft white cloud. Did you get it? "

She—"I sent you some message with firefly. Did you get it? "

He—"O Fame, my Fairy Queen, I know not what your message was. But I wish...I wish...I had been rich...or you...poor..."

She—"I often wished I had wings, I'd have flown to sit at the door of your hermitage and hear your songs to Nature."

The poet's lyre was already highly-strung. He did not need to tune it. He began a strain which throbbed as if the poet's heart had left his body and entered the lyre. But when his song fluttered to its close, she looked grave and said, "Did you forget I was not free? Alas! I can never be yours. My heart is broken. I can never accept any one's homage. Oh I feel the wounds that Desire's neglect has inflicted fresh every morning...Forgive me."

He—"Alas! I forgot, I forgot you were not free. My forgetfulness was due to wine, the wine of pain. But when you said, 'Lay no restraint upon your soul,' did you too forget what I forgot?"

She—"But don't forget me, my poet? You are the first who has called me Fairy Queen. Neither Science, nor Philosophy called me that. So I am only your Fairy Queen...and yet..."

He—"Yes, though I sought the wine of inspiration at your lovely hands, I am not pained that you refused to give it me, since you have thus saved me from the danger of intoxication!...Ah! send me a thought sometimes on the wings of the breeze. I shall teach the birds my songs and send them to you to sing."

Many years had passed. The poet had returned to his hermitage. He had learnt the bitter lesson that it is nobler to sing for the joy of singing than for the sake of Fame. He had spent his days in diving into the vast ocean of knowledge in search of gems of passing value. His songs cared more now for

truth than for adornments. Restless toil had made him old. Gloom had consumed his blood.

After these many years Fame had felt drawn to the poet. She had left her palace, severed Desire from her thoughts, and had started out to find the poet.

It was a dismal day. Nature was wrapped in shawls of mist, which betokened winter. The princess was worn with fatigue. Yet she pressed forward. Now she stood before the hermitage. It was all silent. Her heart palpitated. Holding her heart she entered the open door. The poet lay on the bare floor. He opened his eyes and saw her. "O! my Fairy Queen you have granted the request of my last song," said he in a low gasping voice and repeated its last stanza. Fame fell on her knees beside him. She kissed him. And his eyes closed for ever more.

CYRIL MODAK

Reviews

Indian Industry : by M. Cecile Matheson ; by the Oxford University Press. 1930, pp. 227.

This little book aims at an impartial and independent survey of the existing labour conditions in the chief industries of India. As its subtitle "Yesterday, To-day and To-morrow" gives hint of the subject-matter of the study there is a fair-minded and valuable contribution on this tangled subject which is very often deliberately misunderstood in the light of previously learnt ideas and convictions. It is the prevailing misconception that the Indian employers and the Government have sadly neglected their duty towards the Indian labourers who number roughly $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions. This opinion is as misleading as the other general oft-repeated remark that Indian labour is totally inefficient according to the western conception of the term. This brochure wisely contends the accuracy of both these statements and indicates how the "humanitarian" or "the Christian conception" of the standard of life might be safely extended (without prejudice to the employer's position of safety), to the Indian labourers who are grovelling mostly under age-old superstitions and unnatural customs.

Having visited as many as 53 of the most important industrial centres more than once, the Committee consisting of three industrial welfare workers of the National Christian Council has had exceptional opportunity to gather first-hand and reliable information about the recent improvements in the status, working conditions, housing situation and the financial position of the labourers in the prominent industries of the country. These have been collected and arranged in the different chapters of the three parts of this book.

Part I is a brief illuminating survey of the past indicating the terrible conditions which led to the interference of the state in protecting Indian factory labour. The authors have wisely pointed out that it was not Lancashire's jealousy which after all instituted the protective legislation of 1877 but instructed Indian public opinion was already agitating for the same.

The descriptive Part II runs into ten chapters and covers roughly p. 15 to p. 148. An industrial map of India facing chapter one would have heightened the value of the chapter. An interesting statement of

the present industrial law is given out in Chapter II. Chapter III to Chapter VII present intelligent snapshots of the general conditions in the various chief industries such as cotton, jute, coal mining, railway engineering and workshops, heavy metal trades, tea gardens, woollen mills, rice-milling, leather factories, the newly arising match industry and other minor industries.

Some important general labour questions such as the employment of women in the mines the securing of hereditary miners, the improving of the sanitation of the mining workers and the educating of the illiterate workers are sympathetically discussed by the Committee. The problems of securing a permanent class of workers in the tea gardens and the securing of a better organisation of the tea industry, the uplifting of the villages in the tea gardens, the making of factory labour a contented force which takes keen interest in the business management and the qualitative improvement of the product and the co-ordinating of the present-day different social factors conducting welfare work amidst the labourers, are discussed intimately.

Under the fascinating heading of progressive movements the voluntary welfare work done by the different agencies and the starting of the T. Union and the co-operative movements are related. The portion of the book dealing with welfare work is indeed the most valuable portion of the book. The rapid manner in which the welfare work is being instituted by the employers as well as humanitarian outside agencies and the Workers' Welfare Committees has been briefly related.

The necessary means to make this movement a vitalising one have been outlined in Chapter VIII. Free medical treatment, the promotion of infant welfare, the provision of compulsory free elementary education for children and half-timers, the building of sanitary and hygienic buildings or tenements for the workers, the selling of good articles of necessities at cheap rates, the opening of free cinema shows, restaurants, etc., to combat the drug and the drink evils and numerous other extra-mural forms of welfare activity such as the holding of Health Weeks, the starting of libraries, reading rooms, co-operative societies, the provision of crèches, the granting of maternity benefits, and the institution of recreational activities form some of the lines in which welfare activity has organised itself and it is indeed a pity that such schemes are "few and far between." The task of future industrial reform would indeed be lightened if these schemes succeed.

That the Trade Union organisation confers self-control, renders self-help, and promotes self-knowledge has yet to be learned by the

Indian labourers. The initial difficulties which beset the T. U. movement in the past made its life a chequered and stormy one. Labour has sometimes been brigaded for political ends and startling revelations are made even in the modern day as regards the merciless and callous exploitation of Indian labourer's interests by people operating on the Stock Exchange market. There might indeed be some amount of truth in Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's allegations with reference to Indian Trade Unionism.

Though the account of the past history of the T. U. movement given on pages 112 to 116 is merely a very sketchy one, the present-day situation created by the enactment of the Indian Trade Unions Act of 1926 is an intelligent contribution to the subject. The Trade Disputes Act of 1928, which postulates the existence of an efficiently organised labour force, is undoubtedly far in advance of the times. Were it to facilitate the growth of legitimate Trade Unionism and defend it from exploitation by interested and selfish political agitators and help the creation of genuine labour leaders everyone would welcome this piece of legislation. What is needed just at present is the honest recognition of this spontaneous form of activity by the employers.

Organised on the "industrial" basis rather than on the "craft" basis the Trade Union idea has spread far and wide amongst the literate workers. Unless the essence of the Trade Union idea is rightly understood as a mutual benefit society aiming at the performance of fraternal duties rather than the militant functions alone, no real headway can be made against the labourer's antipathy towards this type of organisation. When more real Trade Unions are started outside the pale of the dishonest employer's malevolent influence a true awakening of labour would be seen. Industrial and Social reform would be facilitated by the action of such wide-awake Trade Unions. India would move with the times and would not be cut off from international movements of any sort. Most of the recommendations of the International Labour Office can easily be enforced to the lasting good of the employers and the labouring masses of the country.

Another movement pregnant with many possibilities and which has been encouraged is the movement of co-operation. More interesting fusion ought to be developed between factory organisation and the co-operative movement. More co-operative credit societies and co-operative purchase and sale societies ought to be started in the mills. Given sound management which, of course, is a difficult postulate, there is no reason why they should fail. The co-operative movement at the present

day is more or less inspired from above arising solely out of one personality or other but unless it becomes a part of the life of the people much improvement cannot be forthcoming. The outstanding difficulties in the path of labour uplift either by voluntary means or by legislative action are outlined in Chapter X. The instability of industrial population, the habit of bribery, that is so rampant in factory life, the poor undeveloped and undernourished physical outfit of the labourers, the reduction of preventible diseases such as tuberculosis, the rationalising of some meaningless age-old customs in matters of dress, diet, caste and occupation, the unfortunate addiction to drink and the colossal ignorance of the labourers are formidable obstacles impeding the course of true economic progress and industrial reform. One oft-mentioned way of solving these manifold evils is the increase of the wages and the minimum wage ought to enable the labourer to maintain a decent and efficient standard of living. The other secondary causes of poverty have to be attacked with no less vigour. The educational need of the villager has to be solved on intelligent lines. The founding of a labour college is long overdue and if it is kept uncontaminated by racial or communal bias it would be a useful lever at the present moment for labour uplift.

Industrial unrest is a grave menace and without the existence of a "constructive spirit" and fair-minded leaders on both sides no progress can be achieved in the direction of industrial peace. Rationalisation of cotton and railway workshops is the urgent need of the hour. Without a proper understanding of this scheme strikes would inevitably result out of the nervousness of the labourers to be on the unemployment list. The carrying out of the recommendations of the Fawcett Committee by the important industries would be the only effective way of allaying industrial unrest.

The constructive portion, *i.e.*, Part III of the book covers roughly 25 pages. Aiming at orderly progress, the present-day attention of reformers must be rivetted in filling up the gaps in the Factory Acts of this country, such as, the institution of a Truck Act, the rationalising of the power of the employer to levy fines, the increase of the inspectorate staff and specially women inspectors to ensure proper enforcement of the regulation, the undertaking of research in different industries in different provinces with the view of enforcing Minimum Wage Legislation and the compulsory granting of maternity benefits and sick leave.

A parallel and co-ordinate advance in the other walks of social life would undoubtedly consolidate the path of progress. The Native

States ought not to lag behind and an all-India concordat is indispensable at the present moment. The starting of a similar body such as the British Industrial Welfare Society would facilitate the onward march of progress. The institution of Social or Welfare course in the Indian Universities and co-ordinate training of these in industrial matters is long overdue and it is gratifying to note that the committee approve this cherished ideal elaborated long ago, in almost every detail, by the veteran Indian economist—Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee. Their siren voice in calling the European women to undertake this sort of useful work reveals the genuineness and bona-fide nature of their efforts to uplift Indian labour conditions.

The appendices are six in number and illustrate the plans and idea of the N. C. Council in organising this committee of enquiry and an impartial industrial survey. It must be frankly admitted that the work has been done with thoroughness, sympathy and true insight into the existing conditions of society. It is a pity that this stimulating survey has given birth to a very brief report. But considering the quality of the report India is undoubtedly indebted to these selfless workers of the Y. W. C. A. and the Y. M. C. A. who have undertaken this cause with much missionary zeal and true Christian love towards the voiceless four millions which form the core of the Indian labouring masses. It is high time that Institutes of Social and Religious research such as those of the Ramakrishna Mission should undertake this work of accurately describing the real conditions under which the Indian labourers and the industrial population are working. It need not be stated that a good deal of what they have stated would be repeated afresh by the Whitley Commission (whose report is in the Press).

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Breaking Down the Tariff Walls—by Dr. Wilhelm Grotkopp. English translation by Erich Schadow, Benn publication, pp, 130, 1930.

Aiming at the object of instructing public opinion as regards the main issues involved in the "Tariff Peace Conference" of 1930 the author has placed before the readers a dispassionate summing up of the case for the formation of a European Customs Union by the general reduction of customs duties.

Though consisting of three parts, this small brochure succeeds in vividly portraying the economic consequences of high protectionism which is being followed by the dwarf states of Europe. Economic nationalism and mass production of manufactured articles are distinctly opposed to each other. Industrial collaboration and economic co-operation would lead to international economic prosperity. A wider market and mass production go together or else an economic crisis of the first magnitude would be the result. Based on this economic ground the author like all other distinguished economists argues for a European Custom Union without tariff walls. A wide European market and the possession of purchasing power would lead to the industrial prosperity of the different European States, be they agrarian or industrial in character. Economic inter-dependence and free intercourse being safer ideals these countries wish to realise them and give up economic nationalism and high protectionism.

Part one outlines the present-day tariff policy of the great capitalistic powers such as Great Britain, France, Germany and the U. S. A. Most of the smaller states belong to the group of absolutely protectionist countries. Though the general economic interests point out the necessity of reducing the tariff, the agrarian interests, the manufacturing industries and the political considerations of these states form a solid phalanx opposing any reduction of the tariff duties. Free economic intercourse, international division of labour and world-wide markets are no longer the ideals of the different states of Europe.

The second part confines itself to an examination of the proposed measures for reducing duties. The Most Favoured Nation clause is more a misnomer than anything else. The formation of multilateral treaties among so many independent states is a matter of impossibility and the formation of a convention removing the export duties and prohibition of export does not succeed in all cases. Private agreements amongst industrialists and the formation of industrial syndicates are impracticable at the present stage of diversified industrial development of the different states. Though it can be easily granted international syndicates and trusts lead to wider markets, careful planning of industries and rationalised methods of production to increase the quantity and quality of stock, still it has to be admitted that they represent after all *one form of new protectionism*.

The only practicable solution is the formation of a Customs Union. The older economists of the type of Count de Molinari, Herr Naumann, statesmen of the type of Bismarck and Count Caprivi and rulers of the type of Hantos and Frederick the Great dreamed the self-same dream but

their endeavours proved futile. *The political ambitions of nationalistic states shatter these grandiose conceptions and the realisation of a European Customs Union seems an impossibility.* The European Customs Union Association has been doing solid spade work in this direction and has been advocating the concluding of multilateral treaties between the different states. The crux of the problem consists in bringing together large economic units without removing political barriers. Practical experience and statecraft alone can solve the difficulties of this problem. It is not by attempts along by-paths such as the commercial treaties and international agreements among the industrialists that this idea can be realised. A European Customs Union preparing the way for a world's Custom Union would indeed rationalise the world economic situation. The Customs Peace Conference which sat from Feb. 17th, 1930, to 24th March, 1930, aimed at preparing the way for the realisation of a European Customs Union. But the actual outcome was a commercial convention prolonging the existing commercial treaties till April 1st, 1931. Though it is agreed that a reduction of tariffs is a practical measure leading to closer co-operation between the different states nothing solid has been accomplished in this direction.

Only the Secretary of the League of Nations has been authorised to gather information on such important headings as (a) finding a market for the surplus of agricultural products, (b) augmenting the purchasing facilities by importing countries, (c) widening of the markets and improving the international exchange of commodities. Some useful suggestions such as direct trade between agricultural co-operative societies of agricultural states and the co-operative purchase societies of industrial states, involve co operation and when once this spirit is infused into their minds the problem would admit a ready solution. The holding of the Customs Peace Conference and the signing of the multilateral European treaty are indeed great steps in the direction of the Pan-European Customs Union. Definite breaches have been made in to-day's nationalistic economic policy and the day would not be far when a Customs Union might be forged in spite of the clashing interests between the leading agricultural and industrial states of Europe.

The author is of opinion that more encouraging results can be reaped immediately if France and Germany were to join and prepare the path for the realisation of the European Customs Union—a pious wish which has been disproved by the recent European crisis brought about by the Germano-Austrian *entente* or customs union (June, 1931). Secondly, the author recommends a Central European Customs Union which can

be easily started. Great Britain can easily form a member of the European Customs Union and trade with the British Empire would mean a better situation for industrial Britain. The European Customs Union would then have to follow not an *autarchic* but a *free trade policy* towards outsiders. Antagonism either to the United States of America or any other state ought not to be its main policy. It might be that the United States of Europe, as M. Briand would put it, might imitate the U. S. of America by Americanising Europe. Leading American economists have already welcomed the formation of a European Customs Union for that means wider market with greater purchasing power than the present-day shattered small states of Europe.

Realising the fact that a Customs Union does not adversely influence the constructional trades, export manufacturers, or the industries meant for home consumption, it has to be formed by the leading politicians. The Agrarian states need not fear that agricultural interests would be sacrificed. If real improvement in agricultural productivity is to be secured it can only be by removing the protection of the tariff walls behind which they have gone to sleep. A complete reorganisation of European Economics alone can facilitate the idea of the European Customs Union. European politics would likewise have to be changed. The older ideals of political seclusion and national security have to give way to European co-operation. An effective reorganisation of European Economics and European politics would indeed be difficult but the Geneva Tariff Peace Conference has practically laid the foundation stone of the Pan-European Customs Union. When the building is raised the present-day economic and social ills, namely, industrial unrest, unemployment and a low standard of life would be alleviated. The future depends on Franco-German politicians of the right stamp. Given the signal, public opinion would soon rally towards their cause and the realisation of a European Customs Union would be an accomplished fact. Peace, prosperity and progress would be realised in the whole Continent of Europe.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Atalanta in Calydon: by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, 1930.

This is a very handy edition of Swinburne's drama, with an introduction and notes, both for those who are familiar with classical mythology

and those who are not. The introduction by Mr. Blackie, Asst. Master, Bradfield College, has been neatly written, but we venture to suggest that the transmutation of the Chorus and the Messenger of the Greek drama into terms of English stage, might prove helpful. The list of suggestive subjects for essay-writing based on a study of *Atalanta* is a commendable feature and there is nothing left to be desired in point of get-up. Along with these, the present edition combines cheapness of price and inclusion of *only useful* notes, and so it deserves to be recommended for class use.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Ourselfes

A NEW READERSHIP LECTURE.

Dr. Cecil Delisle Burns, M.A. (Camb.), D. Lit. (Lond.), has been appointed a Reader of this University to deliver a course of lectures on the "New Industrial Revolution" on an honorarium of Rs. 1,000.

* * *

JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZES IN ARTS AND SCIENCE FOR 1933.

The following subjects have been selected for the Jubilee Research Prizes in Arts and Science for the year 1933 :—

Arts.—Popular Rights and Royal Prerogatives in Ancient India.

Science.—Chemical and Physical Study of Coal of Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur.

* * *

DATES OF THE NEXT D. P. H. EXAMINATIONS.

The following dates have been fixed for holding the next D. P. H. Examinations :—

D. P. H., Part I	...	...	...	17th August, 1931
D. P. H., Part II	...	...	...	14th September, 1931

* * *

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION (INDIA).

RECRUITMENT FOR THE POST OF AN ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT,
FOR EPIGRAPHY IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

Information for Candidates.

1. A candidate must be an Indian and under 40 years old. He must be in sound bodily health and if selected will be

required before appointment to satisfy a medical board appointed by the Government of India.

2. A candidate must, if required, attend at such place as may be appointed for personal interview.¹

3. A candidate must deposit a fee of Rs. 5 into a Government Treasury to be credited under the Head "26—Miscellaneous Departments—Miscellaneous—Examination Fees" and forward the treasury receipt to the Secretary, Public Service Commission, with his application. No claims for the refund of the fee will be entertained. The post for which a candidate is applying as also the Account Head referred to above, should be entered in the Treasury Chalan before it is presented at the Treasury Office.

4. A candidate must send copies of three and not more than three testimonials from persons intimately acquainted with his work and character and must also give the names and addresses of three persons to whom reference can be made. He should also send a *copy* of his degree certificate.

5. A candidate must be a graduate, well versed in Sanskrit, strong in Tamil, and should have a working knowledge of Telugu and Kanarese. Preference will be given to one who has experience of South Indian Epigraphy and has critically edited South Indian inscriptions, particularly Tamil inscriptions.

6. The selected candidate will serve on probation for a period of two years on a pay of Rs. 350 per mensem during the first year, and Rs. 400 per mensem during the second. At the end of the probationary period, if his service has been in all respects satisfactory, he will be offered permanent employment on such scale of pay as may eventually be prescribed for officers of his rank.

¹ Note.—The Public Service Commission do not defray the travelling or other expenses of candidates summoned for interview under paragraph 2. They will, however, contribute towards those expenses at a rate corresponding to the amount of the intermediate Railway fare from the candidate's place of residence to the place of interview and back.

7. Candidates are informed :—

(a) that no recommendations should be forwarded to the Commission except from teachers or other persons who are acquainted with their work or from persons who give certificates of character in accordance with the terms of official regulations or announcements;

(b) that no recommendations of any kind should be sent by or on behalf of any candidate to any individual Member of the Commission.

Any violation of these rules may operate to the candidate's disadvantage.

A. G. DIX.

Simla, the 26th May 1931.

RECRUITMENT FOR TWO POSTS OF ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

Information for Candidates.

1. A candidate must be in sound bodily health and not more than 35 years of age. If selected he will be required before appointment to satisfy a medical board appointed by the Government of India.

2. A candidate must, if required, attend at such place as may be appointed, for personal interview.¹

3. A candidate must deposit a fee of Rs. 5 into a Government Treasury to be credited under the Head "26—Miscellaneous Departments—Miscellaneous—Examination Fees" and forward the treasury receipt to the Secretary, Public Service Commission,

¹ Note.—The Public Service Commission do not defray the travelling or other expenses of candidates summoned for interview under paragraph 2. They will, however, contribute towards those expenses at a rate corresponding to the amount of the intermediate railway fare from the candidate's place of residence to the place of interview and back.

with his application. No claims for the refund of the fee will be entertained. The post for which a candidate is applying as also the Account Head referred to above should be entered in the Treasury Chalan before it is presented at the Treasury Office.

4. A candidate must send copies of three, and not more than three testimonials from persons intimately acquainted with his work and character and must also give the names and addresses of three persons to whom reference can be made.

5. A candidate for one of the posts must be a British subject of Indian domicile, possess a degree in History, including knowledge of some period of early Indian History and have sufficient knowledge of a classical oriental language (*i.e.*, Persian or Arabic or Sanskrit) to be able to read and understand fully, original sources of Indian History and literature. Preference will be given to candidates who have done original research work in some branch of Archaeology such as Epigraphy, Numismatics or Architecture. The candidate for the other post must be a British subject and should be an A.R.I.B.A. or an A.I.I.A. Preference will be given to a candidate who possesses a degree in Arts besides architectural qualifications.

6. The selected candidates will be on probation for a period of two years, and will draw pay of Rs. 350 a month during the first year and Rs. 400 a month during the second year. If their service during the probationary period is found to be satisfactory in all respects, they will be offered permanent employment on such scale of pay as may eventually be prescribed for officers of their rank in the Archaeological Department.

7. A candidate must send copies of his degree certificates, also of papers showing that he is an A. R. I. B. A. or an A. I. I. A.

8. Candidates are informed :—

(a) that no recommendations should be forwarded to the Commission except from teachers or other

persons who are acquainted with their work, or from persons who give certificates of character in accordance with the terms of official regulations or announcements;

- (b) that no recommendations of any kind should be sent by or on behalf of any candidate to any individual member of the Commission.

Any violation of these rules may operate to the candidate's disadvantage.

A. G. DIX.

Simla, The 23rd June, 1931.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

A Mundari-English Dictionary, by ManindraĀhusan Bhaduri, B.L., with an Introduction, by Rai Bahadur Saratchandra Ray, M.A., B.L., M.L.C. Demy 8vo., pp. 229 + xvi.

Desinamamala, edited with Introduction and Index by Pandit Muralydhar Banerjee, M.A. Royal 8vo. pp. 336 + iv.

Journal of the Department of Letters. Vol. XXI, Royal 8vo. pp. 410. Rs. 6.

Pilgrimage of Faith (*Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures for 1927-28*), by Prof. D. C. Macintosh. Royal 8vo. pp. 300 + viii. Rs. 4.

Selections from Classical Guzrati Literature, Vol. II (16th and 17th Centuries), edited by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo. pp. 684 + xvi. Rs. 7-8.

University Calendar for the year 1931. Demy 8vo. pp. 1140 + xv,

BOOKS IN THE PRESS IN AUGUST, 1931.

1. *Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. I*, by Dr. Hemchandra Ray, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
2. *History of Indian Literature, Vol. II*, by Prof. M. Winternitz, translated into English by Mrs. S. Ketkar.
3. *Siddhanta-Sekhara*, edited by Pandit Babua Misra, Jyotishacharyya.
4. *Surya-Siddhanta*, edited with Notes, by Mr. Phanindralal Ganguli, M.A., P.R.S.
5. *Asoka, Second Edition*, by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
6. *Brahmanical Gods in Buddhist Burma*, by Mr. Nihar-ranjan Ray, M.A., P.R.S.
7. *Purva-Banga Gitika, Vol. IV, Part I*, edited with Introduction and Notes, by Rai Dineschandra Sen, Bahadur, B.A., D.Litt.
8. *Adwalta-Brahma-Siddhi, Part II*, edited by Mahamahopadhyay Gurucharan Tarka-Darshantirtha and Pandit Panchanan Tarkabagis.
9. *Collected Geometrical Papers, Part II*, by Prof. Syamadas Mockherjee, M.A., Ph.D.
10. Consolidated List of Graduates.
11. University Question Papers for the year 1929.
12. *Manoel da Assampeaos Bengali Grammar*, edited by Prof. S. K. Chatterji, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), and Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A.
13. *Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. II*, by Dr. Hemchandra Ray, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
14. *Theory of Plane Curves, Part I, Third Edition*, by Dr. S. M. Ganguli, D.Sc.
15. *Some Bengal Villages and Economic Survey*, by Messrs. Nirmalchandra Bhattacharyya, M.A., and L. A. Natesan, M.A.

16. **Eastern Bengal Ballads, Vol. IV, Part I, with Introduction and Notes, by Rai D. C. Sen, Bahadur, B.A., D.Litt.**
17. **Lectures on the Mean Value Theorem of the Differential Calculus, by Prof. Ganesh Prasad, D.Sc.**
18. **The Land Problem of India, by Prof. Radhakamal Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D.**
19. **Political History of Ancient India, *Third Edition*, by Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.**
20. **Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXII.**
21. **Linguistic Speculation of the Hindus, by Dr. Prabhat-chandra Chakrabarti, M.A., Ph.D.**
22. **The Relation of the Governor-General in Council with the Madras Government, by Dr A. P Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).**

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

VII. LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

1. GRAMMARS, &c.

Sabda-sakti-Prakasika, by Pandit Jagadisa Tarkalankara.
Part I. Demy 8vo. pp. 158. Rs. 1-6.

Selections from Avesta and Old Persian. First Series
Part I, by I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D., Professor of Comparative Philology, Calcutta University.
Demy 8vo. pp. 255. Rs. 6-0.

Arranged on a most convenient plan—the text in Roman letters, with a literal English translation on the page opposite, each text and translation being followed by elaborate linguistic and other notes—the book is intended primarily for students of Sanskrit. No finished Sanskritist can do without some acquaintance with Avestan, and Dr. Taraporewala's book, already adopted for class work in several European Universities, is by far the best chrestomathy of Avesta. The Selections have been highly praised by distinguished scholars like *Profs Rapsin, Alfred Hillebrandt, L. D. Barnett, Otto Jespersen, J. Jolly, F. O. Schrader, A. B. Keith, Hermann Jacobi, Dr. F. W. Thomas, Sir George A. Grierson, Rev. Father R. Zimmermann*, and others.

Prof. V. Lesny, University of Prague, Czecho-Slovakia :—"Your book is very useful and very valuable. I shall not fail to recommend it to my students in Europe, as the selection is good, the translation correct, literal (what I very much appreciate) and faithful."

Sir George A. Grierson, Director of Linguistic Survey of India :—"I have been reading it with great interest and must congratulate you on the production of so scholarly a work. I am looking forward to the publication of the second part.....The notes are to me most valuable, and form an admirable introduction to the comparative study of Iranian and Indian languages."

Prof. J. Jolly, University of Wurzburg, Bavaria :—"It must be translated into German, it is far superior to the other Avesta Readers and has made the study of Avesta comparatively easy."

Dr. F. W. Thomas, India Office Library, London :—"It seems to me to be just what was wanted for the serious University study of Iranian, and I hope that it will be used both in England and in America, as well as in India. Your notes are very full and accurate and supply all that is required, while your general views are marked by moderation and reasonableness."

2. BENGALI

The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, by Sunitikumar Chatterji, M.A. (Cal.), D.Lit. (London), *Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics and Lecturer in English and Comparative Philology in the University of Calcutta*. With a Foreword by Sir George Abraham Grierson, K.C.I.E., I.C.S. (Retd.), Director of the Linguistic Survey of India.

In two Vols., F^{cap} 4to. 1926

Vol. I—Introduction and Phonology, pp. i-xci, 1-648.

Vol. II—Morphology, Additions and Corrections, and Index of Bengali Words, pp. 649-1179

Two Vols., Cloth-bound, Uncut Edges. Rs. 20.

This long-expected work, which took over three years to print, had at last been published by the University of Calcutta (September, 1926) "This admirable work," says Sir George Grierson in his *Foreword*, "which is a fine example of wide knowledge and of scholarly research, is the result of a happy combination of proficiency in facts and familiarity with theory, and exhibits a mastery of detail controlled and ordered by the sobriety of true scholarship." In its MS. form the work was read by and obtained the highest approval of some of the most distinguished scholars in the field of Indian Linguistics in Europe, and it may be said to indicate a land-mark in the history of philological researches into Indian Languages. It is the first systematic and detailed history of a Modern Indo-Aryan Language written by an Indian, and incidentally, as it is comparative in its treatment, taking into consideration facts in other Indo-Aryan speeches, it is an invaluable contribution to the scientific study of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages as a whole.

The Bengali words have throughout been given in Bengali as well as in Roman characters.

Sir George Grierson, on receipt of the complete work, writes to the University: You are good enough to ask for my opinion of the book. May I refer you to the opinion expressed by me in the Foreword prefixed to the first volume. I have nothing to add to this, and here content myself with repeat-

ing my high appreciation of a work based on accurate knowledge, and inspired by the principles of true science. It is a source of much gratification to me that it has appeared as a worthy ornament of the University with which for many years it was my honour to be associated as a Fellow.

Prof. Jules Bloch, of the University of Paris : As to my opinion on the book I shall deem it a duty to give it at length in scholarly periodicals, *viz.*, 'Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris' or 'Journal Asiatique,' for instance; for the present I may assure you that this time at least the generosity of your University in printing that book has not been in vain; it will honour the University and Indian scholarship very much. It is the first book of that amplitude and depth devoted by an Indian to an Indian language; I should wish to see more of the same sort: but I fear there are not many people yet endowed with the same gifts and the same knowledge and method as Prof. Chatterji.

Prof. L. D. Barnett, of the British Museum and the University of London: It was a great pleasure to me to receive this fine volume, in which the studies begun here are so happily completed. It is a work of extremely high importance and value, establishing on a firm basis the principles of the history of the Bengali language, and serving as a model for future researches in other languages of India.

Prof. Stan Konow, of Oslo, Norway: I sincerely congratulate you on your achievement. You have brought out a really first-class work, and it would be impossible for any European scholar to bring out anything so full of information from the most various and partly quite inaccessible sources. Your penetration of the subject is admirable, and you prove to have mastered Western methods to perfection.

Dr. F. W. Thomas, of the India Office Library and the University of London: The very welcome copy of your great book has now come, and before I am swallowed up again in other pre-occupations, I hasten to write to you my cordial thanks. I have begun the perusal; but a full absorption of the contents will plainly be a work of some time. I propose, however, to write to you later. At present I can do little more than congratulate you upon the completion of an enormous task, to which you have brought a thoroughly scientific method and an extraordinary special competence. I feel sure that all those great lights in the fields of General and Indian Philology whose most perfected doctrines you so ably and judiciously studied in Europe, will be gratified by the abundant fruit realised through your independent application of them to your mother-tongue. The book contains abundant new material for them all. It is, in fact, bewildering in its extent and in the complexity of the factors which have had to be taken into consideration.

Prof. R. L. Turner, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of London: I have long been looking forward to its appearance, and the book comes up to my best hopes. It is a very fine achievement, and marks the beginning of a new chapter in the study of Indo-Aryan Languages.

Prof. M. Winternitz, of the German University of Prague, Czechoslovakia: I have read with great interest the learned Introduction which forms almost one-fourth of the work, and which treats, in a masterly manner, not only the history of Bengali, but also the history of Indo-Aryan speech from the earliest times down to the present day. The author is thoroughly familiar with the Western methods of philological-historical investigation, and at the same time has a knowledge of linguistic facts which no European scholar could ever hope to acquire. Both the author himself and the University of Calcutta are heartily to be congratulated on the publication of this masterpiece of Indian philology.

Prof. Jean Przyluski, of the University of Paris : Cet ouvrage fait le plus grand honneur à son auteur et à l' Université de Calcutta. Ceux qui s' intéressent aux études de Grammaire comparée et tous les indianistes se réjouissent de trouver décrit, dans un exposé magistral, le développement d'une des langues les plus importantes pour l'histoire de la civilisation indienne.

Prof. A. C. Woolner, Principal, Oriental College, and Dean, University Instruction, Punjab University : This is the most valuable piece of work that has been published by the University of Calcutta, at any rate in the departments where I can form any opinion. I consider Dr. Chatterji's book to be an important contribution not merely to the history of the Bengali language but also to the history of the Indo-Aryan languages in general. In this direction it is the first important step taken since the publication of Prof. Bloch's work on Marathi. Dr. Chatterji's work is also remarkable as being a systematic examination of the history of an Indian language based upon a thorough study of Phonetics, and indeed from that point of view he has broken new ground over a wider area going back sometimes to the Vedic period. There are many controversial questions on which Dr. Chatterji has touched and on several of such points I find myself in agreement with himWe have here material for more than one book.

Prof. G. Tucci, of the University of Rome, concludes his appreciative review of the work in the *Modern Review* for January, 1927, with the following words : To sum up : We can say that the work by Prof. Chatterji is the first scientific contribution of Modern India to linguistic studies. With his work the author has shown the way how to work, to his younger countrymen who are inclined to this line of research.

Prof. J. Wackernagel, of the University of Basel, Switzerland : Your work is really admirable and worth to be named beside those of Beames and Bloch. You are to be congratulated upon your being now one of the leaders in the application by Indian scholars of the historical and comparative method on Indian languages.

Prof. Heinrich Lüders, of Berlin : In my opinion it is one of the most important publications of the last year in the whole field of Indian studies. Your excellent work is an immense advance in this direction (study of the development of the Aryan speech in India). A work like this requires a scholar trained in the methods of comparative philology and thoroughly familiar with the language itself, and you have shown on every page that you possess those qualifications in an eminent degree and moreover combine them with sound criticism. I have no doubt that I shall derive much help from your work for my grammar of the epigraphical Prakrits and especially for my reconstruction of the spoken Magadhi of the 3rd Century B.C.....For the present I wish only to congratulate you most heartily in the completion of your masterly work.

Professor Helmuth Von Glasenapp, Prof. of Indic Philology, Berlin University : Allow me to congratulate your University on giving to the world such a momentous work.

Dr. Truman Michelson, of the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, U.S.A. : It is a truly great work and the author is to be congratulated for his ripe scholarship.....I sincerely hope that Dr. Chatterji will have ample opportunity to continue his work and make even more important contributions to Indo-Aryan Philology that he already has done.

Prof. Wilhelm Gelger, Prof. of Indian and Iranian Languages in the University of Munich : Dr. Chatterji's book.....is made in the most scholarly form and with perfect mastership in the modern linguistic and philological methods.....Plenty of linguistic facts inquired into and happily explained by

Dr. Chatterji. I heartily congratulate him for having successfully joined in his work an immense knowledge of the subject, attainable only in India itself, with a thorough scientific training and with an admirable scholarship.

Professor Sylvain Lévi, of the College de France, Paris: Sunitikumar Chatterji's Origin and Development of the Bengali Language is positively a master-piece; I know of no work of this kind where the matter has been so fully mastered, so thoroughly searched, so clearly exposed. Any scholar interested in any side of Bengali, even of Indian history or life is sure to find there enrichment of knowledge and appeal to reflexion.

History of Bengali Language, by Bijaychandra Mazumdar, B.L., Lecturer in Anthropology, Comparative Philology and Indian Vernaculars in the University of Calcutta. *Second Edition*. 1927. Demy 8vo. pp. 323. Rs. 7-0.

The book gives a sketch, in broad outline, of the origin of the Bengali Language and the various influences—linguistic, ethnic, social—that shaped and moulded its earlier history.

In reviewing this book in the J.R.A.S. (1923, p. 443) **Dr. L. D. Barnett** writes:—"Mr. Mazumdar's work on account of its learning, vigorous style, and bold deviation from currently accepted doctrine deserves a fuller notice than can be accorded to it here. Opening with a stout denial of Sir G. Grierson's theory of the origin of Aryan vernaculars he maintains their derivation from the Vedic Language, and explains their variations as due to the influence of Non-Aryan speech, mainly Dravidian; in particular, Bengali, Oriya and Assamese are in his opinion all primarily evolved from one and the same Eastern Magadhi Prakrit and the first two have been influenced in a secondary degree by Dravidian Speech. To us the most attractive Chapters are II-IV on the names Vanga and Bangla, the geography of ancient Bangla, with the connected regions Gauda, Radha, and Vanga.... VI on Bengali phonology and VIII-IX, a fine study of accent in Sanakrit and Bengali and of the Bengali metrical system, which is of especial value as the author himself has won high distinction as a poet in his native language. On the whole it may be said that the book is most stimulating and suggestive and that it presents a remarkable mass of interesting facts relating to modern Bengali."

History of Bengali Language and Literature (in English), by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Demy 8vo. pp. 1067. 1911. Rs. 16-12.

A comprehensive view of the development of the Bengali Language and Literature from the earliest times down to 1850. This book has very little affinity with the author's epoch-making Bengali work on the same subject, the arrangement adopted in the present work being altogether new and the latest facts, not anticipated in the Bengali treatise, having been incorporated in it. It has been accepted by orientalists everywhere as the most complete and authoritative work on the subject. The book is illustrated by many pictures including five coloured ones.

Sylvain Lévi (Paris) : " I cannot give you praises enough—your work is a *Chintamani*—a *Ratnakara*. No book about India would I compare with yours.....Never did I find such a realistic sense of literature.....Pandit and Peasant, Yogi and Raja mix together in a Shakespearean way on the stage you have built up."

D. C. Phillott : "I can well understand the enthusiasm with which the work was received by scholars, for even to men unacquainted with your language, it cannot fail to be a source of great interest and profit."

Jules Bloch (Paris) : " Your book I find an admirable one and which is the only one of its kind in the whole of India."

The Times Literary Supplement, London, June 20, 1912 : " In his narration, as becomes one who is the soul of scholarly candour, he tells those who can read him with sympathy and imagination more about the Hindu mind and its attitude towards life than we can gather from 50 volumes of impressions of travel by Europeans. Lati's picturesque account of the rites practised in Travancore temples, and even M. Chevrillon's synthesis of much browsing in Hindu Scriptures, seem faint records by the side of this unassuming tale of Hindu literature. Mr. Sen may well be proud of the lasting monument he has erected to the literature of his native Bengal."

The Spectator, June 12, 1912 : " A book of extraordinary interest to those who would make an impartial study of the Bengali mentality and character—a work which reflects the utmost credit on the candour, industry and learning of its author. In its kind his book is a masterpiece—modest, learned, thorough and sympathetic. Perhaps no other man living has the learning and happy industry for the task he has successfully accomplished."

From a long review by *H. Kern* in the *Bijdragen of the Royal Institute for Taal* (translated by Dr. Kern himself) : " Fruit of investigation carried through many years.....highly interesting book..... the reviewer has all to admire in the pages of the work nothing to criticise, for his whole knowledge is derived from it."

The Empire, August 31, 1918 : " As a book of reference Mr. Sen's work will be found invaluable and he is to be congratulated on the result of his labours. It may well be said that he has proved what an English enthusiast once said that ' Bengali unites the mellifluousness of Italian with the power possessed by German for rendering complex ideas.' "

Bengali Ramayanas, by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen,
B.A., D.Litt. Demy 8vo. pp. 335. Rs. 7-8.

In this book the author advances certain theories regarding the basic materials upon which the Epic of Valmiki was built and the ideals presented therein as also the sources of the Bengali Ramayanas and the principles contained in them.

The Times Literary Supplement, April 7, 1921.—" The Indian Epics deserve closer study than they have hitherto received at the hands of the average Englishmen of culture. Apart from the interest of the main themes, the wealth of imagery and the beauty of many of the episodes, they are store-houses of information upon the ancient life of India and a key to the origin of customs which still live. Moreover they show many curious affinities to Greek literature which suggest the existence of legends common to both countries....."

The main theme of these lectures is the transformation of the old majestic Sanskrit epic as it came from the hands of Valmiki to the more familiar and homely style of the modern Bengali versions. The Ramayana, we are told, is a protest against Buddhist monasticism, the glorification of the domestic home. The Bengali versions, by reducing the grandeur of the heroic characters, to the level of ordinary mortals, bring the epic within the reach of the humblest peasant; they have their own virtues, just as the simple narrative of the Gospels has its own charm, though it be different in kind from that of Isaiah's majestic cadences."

From a review in the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* by Sir George Grierson: "This is the most valuable contribution to the literature on the Ramasaga which has appeared since Professor Jacobi's work on the Ramayana was published in 1893. The latter was confined to Valmiki's famous epic, and the present volume from the pen of the veteran author of the *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, carries the inquiry on to a further stage and throws light both on the origins of the story and on its later developments."

The Vaishnava Literature of Mediæval Bengal, by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Demy 12mo. pp. 312. 1917. Rs. 1-6.

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Vanga-Sahitya-Parichaya or Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature, Edited by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. In two parts. Royal 8vo. pp. 2087. 1914. Rs. 16-12.

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CONTENTS

	Page.
Germany since Versailles—Arthur Hübscher	... 299
The Calamity of Chronic Unemployment and its Solution —A. T. Weston	... 311
The Text of Shakespeare—S. M. Chanda, M.A., B.A. (Oxon)	... 319
The Crown and the British Commonwealth of Nations —Akshaykumar Ghosal, M.A.	... 333
Robert Burns's Treatment of the Supernatural—Sukumar Dutt, M.A.	... 353
To The Mocking Bird (<i>Poem</i>)—Louise A. Nelson, M.A.	360
Jātaka Gleanings bearing on Ancient Indian Culture and Civilisation—Gokuldas De, M.A.	... 361
Banks in relation to Industrial Financing—Sarojkumar Basu, M.A.	... 375
Spring Song (<i>Poem</i>)—Cyril Modak	... 394
The Founders of Vedic Idealism—Sitanath Tattabhusan	395
The Indian Federation—how the picture should be com- pleted—C. V. Hanumantha Rao, M.A.	... 399
Poets in Early Arabia—Prof. M. Z. Siddiqi, M.A., Ph.D.	424

Are Children Worth While ?—F. I. Solomon	...	433
In Memoriam—S. C. B.	... ..	435

REVIEWS :

Hinduism invades America—Priyaranjan Sen	...	436
Thy Servant a Dog—Priyaranjan Sen	...	439
Company I have kept—Priyaranjan Sen	...	440
The Eurasian Problem—S. Mookerjee	...	442

OURSELVES :

The Late Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh	...	443
Readership Lectures	... ..	444
Results of the B.Sc. Examination, 1931	...	444
Results of the B.A. Examination, 1931	...	445

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GERMANY SINCE VERSAILLES ¹

It is peculiarly difficult to present a picture of the political development in post-war Germany, because the events which marked the period following the war cannot yet be judged in their full bearing on the present era. Moreover the apparent steadiness of the development has often been questioned in recent times on account of various circumstances so that the future seems to-day to be gloomier than ever before. But in spite of all these uncertainties one thing remains absolutely sure, that every attempt to delineate the post-war politics of Germany must begin with one decisive fact which will continue to determine the fate of Germany and Europe for years and decades to come—I mean the treaty of Versailles.

After the Great War extending over four years and a half—a war the like of which has never been recorded in the history of the world—which Germany had to carry on in order to maintain her national existence, she has been deprived of the high position of a Great Power by means of this humiliating treaty. She has been moreover brought to a position of political and economic dependency on the *entente* nations, the result of which cannot yet be foreseen at the present day and which any

¹ Authorised translation from the original German by Mr. Batakrisna Ghosh.

moment may become still worse through new demands and fresh complications.

The treaty was conceived and elaborated in a conference of conquering nations and Germany was not even once allowed to take part in the proceedings. While President Wilson intoxicated with his pet idea of founding the League of Nations turned all his attention to that direction, his rival Clemenceau had a clear path to try to realise the long-cherished ideal of French politics—annexation of the region to the left of the Rhine and political disintegration and economic enslavement of Germany,— and he set himself to this task with a will. Shaken to her very foundation by the internal revolution, Germany was not able to offer the slightest resistance to these sinister plans. The winter of 1918-19 saw a bitter struggle of the socialists of all shades of opinions for power, bloody warfare in Berlin, Munich, Halle, Magdeburg and in the Ruhr, the only positive achievement being the formation of a national Diet, the main duty of which was to ratify and bring into force a new constitution for the Reich elaborated by Hugo Preuss. During this period of inner confusion the fate of Germany was sealed in Paris. After another vain attempt to soften the conditions of the treaty, it was at last signed on 28th June, 1919. Clemenceau did not get everything, but yet much. He could not annex the part of Germany to the left of the Rhine, but the occupation of this region along with the right of reoccupation was attained, and this over and above the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine; not the unconditional incorporation of the Saar region, but a veiled frenchification of same and the occupation of the Saar mines. Disintegration of Germany could not be achieved but Danzig, Pommerania and other eastern provinces were detached. On the Vistula and in Upper Silesia instead of unconditional transference a plebiscite was introduced. In East Prussia on 11th July, 1920, 363,000 inhabitants voted for Germany and only 8,000 for Poland and in the area under plebiscite in West Prussia 97,000 voted for Germany and likewise only 8,000 for

Poland. These regions therefore remained in the possession of Germany. A similar plebiscite took place also in Schleswig in order to satisfy the greed of Denmark which also wanted to make a good bargain out of Germany's defeat in the war: on the 10th February, 19th March and 11th June votes were taken there in different zones to the result that Hadersleben, Tondern and Apenrage fell to the share of Denmark. The plebiscite led to sanguinary conflicts in Upper Silesia: there on 20th March, 1921, 717,000 votes were polled for Germany and 483,000 for Poland. And yet French politics won the day—even in defiance of the terms of the Versailles Treaty—the Upper Silesian region was divided and the more valuable part handed over to Poland.

The right of self-determination for all nations for which the *entente* joined the war, was meant only for the conquerors and not for the conquered. Even without asking their opinion millions and millions of Germans were handed over to the small states which came into existence round about Germany and the small Austria—a small fragment out of the wreck of the Danube monarchy: 130,000 to Lithuania, 1,35,0000 to Poland, 35 millions to Czechoslovakia and over 700,000 to the South Slavs. Moreover we have to count with them the German minorities in Rumania (800,000), Hungary (600,000), Italy (300,000), etc.—in all 12 million Germans, a fifth part of the whole nation, which is under foreign yoke since the Versailles Treaty. Almost everywhere there arose a tendency to crush Germany in every way possible and it is clearly perceptible even to this day. This politics is but the continuation of the war by other means as opposed to Clausewitz's motto that war is but another method of continuing politics. It is attempted to banish the German language from official intercourse and public co-operations. All hindrances are put in the way of the existence of German schools, all ways and means being utilised to close them up, and German priests, German unions and the German press are always antagonised. Germans are deprived of their landed property on the pretext of agrarian reform. In isolated regions of German settle-

ments, a bitter war against German culture has been waged and it is going on still unabated, so that the danger grew from year to year that the sad state of affairs brought about by the Versailles Treaty may gradually find an inner grounding by means of violently altered circumstances. From 1918 onwards the German people everywhere have sustained a decline, which in the future history of Germany will perhaps be regarded as much more decisive for the fate of the nation than the numerous conferences of Lucarno, Geneva, Thoiry, etc., and the still existing political dependency on the *entente* and the suppression of German economic activities.

Clemenceau was completely successful in disarming Germany whose standing army had to be reduced to 100,000 men, as well as on the point of war-compensation which, although quite out of question according to the fourteen points of Wilson, were smuggled in under colour of war reparations. Germany lost the market for her highly developed industry, being completely isolated from the world during the four years of war and after the conclusion of same she found that these regions have in the meantime become dependent on the *entente* nations or have developed their own industries. Internally impoverished and robbed of all the sources of income from foreign trade, Germany was compelled to give the conquerors, so to say, a blank cheque, in which the final amount of the sum to be paid for reparation still remained an open question. While at the imperious dictate of the conquerors of Versailles the political problems of Germany found some solution, though of course of an extremely brutal nature, her economic problems remained fully unsolved, and it is for this reason that the grim struggle for existence which Germany has been carrying on during the last ten years, centres largely round purely economic problems. It is customary to divide the history of this decade according to the various economic conferences.

The history of this decade begins in July, 1920, with the characteristic tragedy of German politics—the inner dissensions

on account of which Germany has so often failed to present a united front to the outer world. Although the year 1919 passed off comparatively peacefully, the month of March, in 1920, saw the sudden revolution associated with the name of Kapp, Director General of a provincial banking organisation. It was quickly suppressed but not before it had ushered in a new wave of communistic terror. A red army cropped up in the Ruhr region which had to be crushed again after bloody skirmishes. Then on 6th June, 1920, the first German *Reichstag* after the war was elected and following it, civil government was again established in the country. In the following period the German minister was for the first time called to Spa, the Belgian health-resort, which was the headquarter of the German army during the war. Even now Lloyd George and Millerand, the new French President, would not communicate the amount of reparation to the German minister ; but they compelled Germany to hand over 2 Million Tons of coal on the threat of occupying the industrial region of the Ruhr. In December, 1920, German specialists were allowed to come to Brussels in order to represent the economic situation of Germany and following it, at last in January, 1921, the *entente* declared its demands of reparation in Paris, according to which Germany would have to pay 2 Milliard Gold Marks annually till 1923, then 3 Milliard Gold Marks till 1928, then 4 Milliard till 1929, 5 Milliard till 1932 and then 6 Milliard Gold Marks annually—in all 226 Milliard Gold Marks. At the same time, a large measure of independence was allowed to the reparation-commission, another fabrication of the Versailles Treaty. The German Government declared these demands to be absolutely impossible of fulfilment. At the London Conference (1st-7th March, 1921) the German Foreign Minister Simons, twice presented the German counter-proposals, but they were thrust back undiscussed. As Germany was still raising objections the *entente* took possession of Düsseldorf, Duisberg and the Ruhr region, and after the fall of the German government

demanded in the London ultimatum of 5th May, 1921, the acceptance of the conditions laying down the payment of reparations to the amount of 132 Millions under the renewed threat of occupying the Ruhr district. Under these circumstances a new government was formed with the central party leader Wirth as Chancellor in which the Social Democratic elements too found a place and the ultimatum was now accepted. But even the best wishes of the new government to fulfil the conditions of the ultimatum proved only the impossibility of fulfilling the terms which had been arbitrarily dictated to Germany. German plenipotentiaries, including Rathenau, made their grievances heard at a conference in Cannes in January, 1922, to the result that a temporary respite in paying the reparation was allowed. On the other hand Poincaré, the Minister President and Foreign Minister of France since one year hindered the clearing up of the question of reparations at the World Economic Conference at Genoa in April and May, 1922.

From this point onwards Poincaré carried on a policy which inevitably led to a catastrophe. Strange as it may seem, the impossibility of fulfilling the terms of reparation was taken to be a ground of securing Rhineland from Germany and to make the Ruhr district dependent on France and, as under Napoleon, to separate South Germany from North Germany. All these Poincaré could not secure, but he succeeded in precipitating a financial catastrophe in Germany.

While bitterness in the internal politics of Germany grew from day to day, specially as the result of the murder of Rathenau and through the union of the majority socialists with the independent, so that Wirth's Government had to be replaced by the non-party government of Cuno (16th November, 1922), an external catastrophe suddenly broke upon Germany like thunder. In December, 1922, Poincaré persuaded the reparations committee to the conviction that Germany has not fulfilled her financial obligations. England pleaded for a moratorium, but it was refused by France ; Poincaré now decided to proceed on

his own responsibility and ordered General Degoutte to take possession of the Ruhr district. On the 11th January, 1923, 20,000 Belgians and French took possession of the city of Essen. In all 55,000 soldiers gradually poured into the Ruhr district. At the same time in Baden, Appenewier and Offenburg, Wesel and Emmerich on the lower Rhine and in numerable other places on the right side of the Rhine between Koblenz and Karlsruhe were occupied by French soldiers. England and Italy refused to take part in this act of violence. Supported by a vote of confidence of all the parties (excepting the Communists) the German government called back its representatives from Paris and Brussels, stopped the delivery of reparation-materials to Belgium and France and gave instruction to the people to show passive resistance against the French occupation and tried to secure the diplomatic help and sympathy of other foreign countries. But the French resorted to brutal means to break the resistance in the Ruhr district. Death sentence for sabotage, shooting in the streets and factories (in this way 13 workers met their death in Krupp's factory on 31st March), confiscation of taxes and public money, deportation *en masse*, arrest and court-martial, fine and imprisonment were the order of the day. Over a hundred men lost their lives by these methods and 146,000 were deported. And at the same time the occupying powers supported the communistic risings in Mühlheim on the Ruhr, Gelsenkicchen and Dortmund; on the Rhine and in the Palatinate they stirred up separatist movements which since 1919 aimed at the establishment of a Republic of the Rhine under the patronage of France and the result was open insurrection. In September there was revolution in Düsseldorf, in October in Uiesbaden, Koblenz, Bonn and Lachen; everywhere the movement broke down gradually. The whole population, including the working classes, took a firm stand against these machinations as in June, 1919; in Siebengebirge and in Pirmasens they came even to regular sanguinary skirmishes.

Although the French policy of disintegrating Germany was thus successfully resisted in the field of politics, the occupation of the Ruhr region had a very disastrous effect on the economic condition of the country. Buying power of money rapidly deteriorated on account of the thoughtless way in which paper money was multiplied, commodities were bought by foreigners at nominal prices, all property of value went over into the possession of foreigners and it was extremely difficult to supply the cities with the requirements of life. Now, on 12th August, the Social Democratic government of Cuno had to resign. The new Chancellor Stresemann, the leader of the German Peoples' party, who now at last succeeded in effecting the great coalition (from the Social-democrats to the Peoples' Party), had to give up the struggle in the Ruhr region under great difficulties.

In Rhineland and in the Palatinate Separatists' plot had to be crushed and in Saxony and Thuringia communist governments had to be suppressed. In Bavaria an attempt at revolution by the National Socialist leader Hitler was nipped in the bud. And at last, with the help of English diplomacy, it was possible to persuade the Reparations Commission to appoint a committee of experts to investigate Germany's capacity to pay the reparations. The American finance-politician General Dawes was the chairman of this committee.

Under the new government of Marx the Dawes Committee began its work in January, 1924, in Berlin and in April it had finished its enquiries and submitted its report. Through two welcome circumstances unanimity could be reached on the new lines suggested with comparative ease; by founding the Rentenbank and introducing the Rentenmark Germany built up again her own currency system and got over the storm of inflation by means of her own resources, though not without immeasurable losses in movable property. In France on the other hand Poincaré had fallen. French foreign policy was now directed by Herriot and later by Briand. Also on the German side there was a change in the leadership of foreign policy. As towards

the end of 1924 Stresemann took over the charge of foreign policy, the hesitating and often dilettante foreign policy of the post-war period was at an end and under the will and insight of one man the German foreign policy held a steady course during the following years.

At the London Conference of July-August, 1929, the allied powers agreed to give effect to the Dawes' plan and the French and the Belgian troops were withdrawn from the Ruhr region in course of the following year. Up to 1922 Germany had made the following deliveries according to the reports of the Reparations Commission: 1·8 million Gold Mark in bar, 2·4 milliards in coal and 1·1 milliards in various kinds of commodities. Moreover properties of the state to the value of 2·5 milliards had to be delivered. Germany bore the burden of the Dawes plan (the American Parker Gilbert was the reparation agent) from 1924 to 1929. The payment made during this time amounted to 1 milliard in 1924-25, 1·22 milliards in 1925-26, 1·5 milliards in 1926-27, 1·75 milliards in 1927-28 and 2·5 milliards in 1928-29—altogether 7·97 milliards. Germany had to acquiesce in an extensive control of her Reichsbank, State Railway and State Finances by foreign powers. On the other side Dawes loans as well as other foreign loans helped Germany to make these payments and to reconstruct German economic life.

This improvement too was attended with very serious internecine discords. The Reichstag, elected in May, 1924, adopted the Dawes plan, but was dissolved again soon in autumn. Antagonism between parties became even more bitter through the election of the cabinet of Luther which took place in December, 1924, and it expressed itself in the bitter electioneering campaign which followed the death of President Ebert (28th January, 1925). At last on 26th April, 1925 the octogenarian general, Field-Marshal Hindenburg, came out victorious out of this election—a proper personality to hold the balance of the various parties and to represent the German nation. Under his aegis, Germany succeeded in reclaiming her position in inter-

national politics in course of the following years. In September 1926 Germany was taken into the League of Nations and it also received a permanent seat in the committee, when Stresemann in the Locarno Treaty (October, 1928) once more pompously declared his willingness to forego the right to the western provinces which had been taken away, but by the same act he also secured the evacuation of the Cologne Zone on 1st February, 1926 (more than a year after the time-limit fixed in the Versailles treaty).

After the cabinet of Luther there followed various attempts on the part of Marx, a member of the centre, to form a new government in the light of Locarno politics, but only in January, 1927, a strong cabinet could be formed with the co-operation of the German nationalists. Under this cabinet the unemployment insurance, which had been prepared long ago became crystallised into law. But the "spirit of Locarno" was being more and more compromised on account of the trend of foreign politics, and the League of Nations' failure to handle the question of international disarmament was in no way congenial to it. The *entente* agreed only to diminish the number of the army of occupation in the Rhineland. At last the Reichstag and the government came to an end over a question of internal politics—a law about the school system in Germany. After carrying out an emergency programme in favour of agriculture, which had been groaning under the burden of liabilities since the days of inflation, the Reichstag was dissolved. The new election in 1928 was very much favourable to the Social-democrats, so that a predominantly socialistic cabinet was formed under Hermann Müller.

In the meantime, after a short period of apparent improvement in the economic situation, it became more and more clear both in Germany and abroad, that the burden imposed on Germany was unbearable. Since 1928 Germany wanted to have a revision of the Dawes Plan which was expressly pronounced to be provisional and temporary, and in February, 1929, Germany was

successful in these efforts. An international specialists' committee was appointed under the chairmanship of the American Young and began to investigate a fresh Germany's capacity to pay the reparations. The Committee sat in Paris and this time German representatives too were taken into it. The results of these investigations were discussed in two conferences in the Hague, at the second of which the Young Plan was finally taken up to supplant the Dawes Plan. Germany secured the withdrawal of all foreign control organs as well as of the Reparation agents and a final settlement of the terms of paying the reparations was at length arrived at which at the beginning provided for somewhat lower annual quotas. But on the other hand, according to this scheme, the payment of reparations was to linger on till 1938, that is to say, the German nation was bound down to economic slavery for generations to come. At any rate, Germany was promised that the occupied territories would be evacuated and this promise was fulfilled on 30th June, 1930, when the last French soldier left Mayence.

In the meantime the death of Stresemann, the uncompromising attitude of the German-National-Party leader Hugenberg, who introduced a plebiscite over the question of adopting the Young Plan, and the vigorous propaganda of the National Socialists, made the inter-party relations in Germany quite desperate. The evil results of the Young Plan were becoming more and more evident, from the ever worsening economic situation of the country even though at first it appeared to be the lesser evil. From month to month the number of the unemployed rose by leaps and bounds: in the Winter of 1930-31 it rose to five millions and discontent grew amongst the masses. The Social-Democrats thought it advisable to withdraw from the Government. Then Brüning, a member of the centre, formed a new cabinet which ruled yet for some time with the old Reichstag, but was at last forced to dissolve. The new elections of 14th September, 1930, swelled the ranks of the radical parties of the right and the left (National-Socialists and the Communists),

beyond all expectations—a threatening sign in the horizon, full of evil auguries, clearly indicating the precarious situation of the country. Only with the greatest difficulty and through the silent but reluctant acquiescence of the Social-Democrats, Bruening succeeded in carrying through a series of emergency ordinances which averted the impending economic bankruptcy of the country at least for the next few months to come.

Nobody can tell what is going to happen in the near future. It is a very mistaken idea to think that all the evils can be cured only by consolidating the situation in internal politics. The problem of Germany is threatening to become the problem of Europe—perhaps of the whole world, and all the difficulties and confusions, all wishes and efforts, point to the one elementary evil which is rooted in the Versailles Treaty. The whole course of events has shown that a change for the better can be possible only through a solution of the problem of reparations, a solution which must not be dictated by that unscrupulous and dastardly intention to annihilate the German nation which once prompted Clemenceau to declare that there are 20 Million Germans too many on earth. The reparation payments have proved to be of immeasurable harm not only to Germany but also to the whole world, of which the economic equilibrium has thus been rudely shaken. It is to be hoped that the thought will at last dawn also upon our former enemies that the present situation is absolutely impossible, that the fate of Europe depends on the fate of Germany and that Germany's break-down will usher in an era of Bolshevism all over Europe.

ARTHUR HÜBSCHER

THE CALAMITY OF CHRONIC UNEMPLOYMENT AND ITS SOLUTION'

All who are acquainted with the industrial business and social relief aspects of the life of this city, are aware of the increasing gravity of what we term the unemployment problem. Those who are responsible for the management of our industrial and business affairs are in these days being constantly driven into decisions of policy which involve the discharge of employees of all grades from service. The simple and only reason for this action is the fact that the scope of the business and shrinkage of demands for products of industry and of agriculture cannot support the same wage roll as was formerly the case. It is certain that this last extremity is approached with reluctance, and after every possible avenue of hope or of promise of increased business has been exhausted. No management breaks up its organization and discharges its experienced personnel except as a last resort, for it is recognized that such action is a calamity bringing suffering and loss over a widespread area. When at last the drastic step has been taken and however reluctantly taken, as far as the employer is concerned, his responsibility *quæ* employer ceased. For the employee on the other hand it is then that the real struggle and possible tragedy begins. Those who know anything of the social relief work of this city or who have the power of imagination are aware of the course of events which follow. A search for fresh employment with the help of friends and connections begins and too often drags its weary course to a negative result. Hopelessness and despair soon appear on the scene as an ever pressing and

potential threat to the moral fibre and spirit, those characteristics which are the peculiar heritage of mankind. Accumulated resources supplemented by borrowing are sooner or later unavoidably used up. Children are withdrawn from school and finally distraught and dis-spirited, under-fed and sometimes afflicted with mental and physical sickness, the family comes to one or other of the relief organisations of this city, for help and sympathy and a possible chance of re-employment. It is the burden of this address to demonstrate that a far worse tragedy lies underneath these shattered hopes of re-employment. In our present local and world-wide distress we must recognise the fundamental fact that there is not sufficient employment to go round, while in the immediate future the condition may possibly be worsened. What is clearly necessary is that the community should realise and inform itself more accurately of the nature and cause of this present chronic unemployment, the possibility of its relentless maw spreading over larger numbers of people, and most important of all, the possible action which can be taken in order to bring about once more conditions of general employment and prosperity with a job for all who will work. Chronic unemployment in Calcutta, as indeed in all other places, has come about as the direct result of an alarming shrinkage in trade and industry. The present state of the shipping industry with so large a percentage of ships idle and laid up is one of the most striking examples of this shrinkage. It is also shown in all the trade statistics of every important country in the world. A shrinkage in trade and industry finds its reflection not only in idle shipping and docks but less labour employed in factories and warehouses, less freight on railways, carriage and portage concerns, less insurances effected, lawsuits filed, advertisement and publicity steps taken, and a dull state of affairs in the retail shops and supply stores. It means therefore ultimately less employment in almost every aspect of modern civilized life. It is no use blaming the victims, as there is clearly not now the employment to be had. They

must either be supported by friends or by public charity or by monetary support from such an organization as an employment insurance fund which in England is called the "dole" or by some organised form of relief work with minimum wage payments for actual work done. Here in Calcutta we have three main industries—jute, tea and coal—and it is by the income received from the sale of the products of these industries that practically all the organised activities and professional services located in Calcutta subsist, *viz.*, docks, railways, engineering workshops, banks, managing agencies, lawyers and solicitors, insurance concerns, churches and social organisations, shopkeepers and stores, etc. Persons engaged in all these activities are concerned with the question as to whether there is any prospect of the immediate future showing conditions of improvement or deterioration, and therefore whether the employment situation is going to be better or worse. To answer this question let me direct your attention to the condition of the main industry of Bengal, the jute industry. On page 71 of the Review of Trade for India for 1929-30 it will be seen that the total value of raw and manufactured jute exported from Calcutta shrunk from Rupees 89 crores in 1928-29 to Rupees 79 crores in 1929-30—a drop of 10 crores of rupees. The effect of that drop as well as a similar drop in the case of the other main industries, has been experienced in Calcutta during the last 12 months. There is obviously some time lag before any obvious disastrous results make themselves manifest. The similar figures for the year 1930-31 were published in the *Statesman* on April 9th, 1931, and it will there be seen that the similar drop from the 1929-30 position in the case of the jute industry is a matter of 30 crores of rupees or in other words three times as serious a disaster as in the former year. From calculations which I have made based on the current market prices ruling since January 1931, I believe the loss will be even more, and something of the order of 27 millions less income to the business and industrial community and the people of Calcutta

from the export of jute alone will be experienced in the current year. From this reading of the situation it seems clear that in the year before us the position will inevitably be worsened and all natures of business and industry and charitable concerns supported by subscriptions from surplus income and profits will be compelled to face even more difficult conditions than hitherto. Unemployment will also spread over a still wider field with all the bitterness and sufferings that it brings in its train. But that is not the whole picture. If these calamities had been brought about by famine or definite inability to produce the needs of our people it will be accepted and the community would have tightened its belt and made the effort to help one another through. The paradox of the situation lies in the fact that in the last year or two, Nature has never been so lavish in her harvests—wheat, jute, rubber, rice, sugar—I need mention no others,—while the organized capacity of our factories and industries and railways and shipping were never so great as they are to-day. Saturated as we are with the idea of an ever advancing progress it would reasonably be expected a general condition of prosperity would have resulted from these beneficent circumstances instead of a growing penury for the generality of people. The existence of this paradox is a matter of common knowledge and the thought and attention of many experienced men has been devoted to its solution. Time being limited all that can be said here is that the consensus of expert opinion goes to show that this paradoxical state of affairs is the result more of empirical and artificial rather than natural causes. It is the result of bungling in human affairs rather than in any failure of Nature. The endeavour made by the principal nations of the world to restore their national currencies to a gold standard following the enormous inflation of the war period, and carrying in some cases the enormous indebtedness incurred during that period, is commonly understood to be the main cause of all the trouble and therefore of this calamity of chronic unemployment. What exactly does

this gold standard policy mean and how does its application provoke the trouble we are in? Whenever these matters are discussed, it is always alleged to be axiomatic and self-evident that the money which men strive so hard to obtain must be standardised at some value, and the higher that value the more the possessor is pleased. There is however a dangerous illusion lurking here. What the average man means when he says that he wants more "money" is that he wants more of those things which money can bring in exchange, and therefore when a fixed value or standard is desired it means in other words that the price index level of all desirable commodities should be more or less stationary. In other words the amount of food, clothing, shelter, travel, books, fuel, etc., which can be bought for Rs. 100 to-day should be approximately the same next year and the year after and in say 10 years hence when the person concerned retires to live on his invested savings. None of us surely would complain if that object were achieved and most people, I imagine, cherish the belief, and therefore nourish the illusion, that the policy underlying the adoption of the gold standard is achieving this end. The case is however otherwise. That policy is undoubtedly bringing about a continuous fall in the price level, particularly whole-sale prices, and therefore making everything cheaper, but there is at the same time so much less purchasing power—money in circulation in wages and salaries,—that the world's products fill our warehouses but cannot be sold and therefore used, except with difficulty. Again because of the shrinkage in demand there is stagnation in trade and industry and consequent chronic unemployment. With a continuously falling price level there is no confidence in establishing new enterprises, so that the banks are glutted with money deposits which people will not risk in new enterprise. Neither is there confidence in carrying on existing enterprise with profitable results. The manufacturer laying his plans for a programme of production with a bare margin of profit to-day finds his profit non-existent in six months' time when his programme matures

because of the fall in the selling price and therefore value of the manufactured article. All this follows because we are trying to achieve the impossible, *i.e.*, value our money in terms of gold. The gold supply of the world is limited, and most of it is in any case locked up in the strong rooms of banks or buried in the earth, while the annual production of new gold is likely to get smaller. Clearly the more we try to value our currency or money purchasing power in terms of the limited supply of gold the less the volume of that currency or purchasing power will be. The definition of a "standard" means something fixed and immutable. Gold being scarce in relation to other commodities the competition for gold will result in those desiring its possession giving more and more of other commodities in exchange for it—this being precisely the phenomenon of the continuous fall in prices. The more the nations desire to express their currencies in terms of gold as a standard the more gold they will be driven to secure before their currencies can expand to meet growing development, and it cannot be disputed that the greater the competition the lower the prices of other commodities must fall in terms of gold—a result which at once stultifies gold as a standard, *i.e.*, some fixed-immutable entity. It is common knowledge that since the gold standard policy was adopted by the countries of the world the quantity of currency in circulation has been continuously restricted—deflated as we say with the consequent super-abundance of commodities and a continually lessening amount of purchasing power in money wages and income, with which to buy and circulate such commodities. What every human being wants is not money or gold but sufficient food, clothing and shelter and more and more of the commodities which we use and value in our developing civilized life. Money is of no use of itself unless it can be exchanged for these commodities and unless there is at the same time sufficient of it in circulation to ensure a market for all that can be produced both by nature's harvest and human ingenuity. In other words we must standardise our money not in gold but in terms of the

common necessities of life, which it is its sole purpose to circulate. By so doing the rupee or the pound sterling will always be able to purchase a standard or fixed amount of foodstuffs, coal, iron, steel and indeed all the principal articles of consumption that form the basis of modern life. This in other words is to stabilize or standardise the price index level on a sufficiently comprehensive basis. When that is done,—and it is not beyond the capacity and integrity of mankind to do it successfully,—then the more commodities that nature gives us or which are produced in our factories, the more money there will be in circulation with which to purchase them—a state of affairs which would soon lead to the disappearance of the unemployment paradox. We have already travelled a long way along this road. Gold will never again be the basis of our common currency as it was in olden days. We now use scraps of paper and find them suit our purposes more efficiently. The plea of this address is that we should standardise the value of our scraps of paper in terms of the commonly desired commodities rather than gold which nobody wants except for ornaments, leaving out of account the banking community who bury it in strong rooms. It seems clear that there will be no return of confidence in industry or commerce until the fall in the price index level has been stopped and a standard price level index is fixed. The endeavour to establish the gold standard cannot possibly give us that desideratum, the present and continued fall in prices being itself the indictment of that policy. Chronic unemployment now existing in all the countries which are trying to achieve the gold standard, will continue and ultimately worsen until the futility of that policy is generally recognised. Till then Governments and public bodies will suffer diminished revenues, industry and commerce will remain stagnant and the majority of the working people be reduced in their wages and standard of living, while millions of them will be burdened with the necessity of searching for employment which cannot be made available for them. There is now little time left to deal with unemployment amongst

the thousands of India's young men who wait, as the parable says, in the market place with no man to employ them. There must be greater industrial and commercial enterprise amongst Indian intelligent and responsible and wealthy citizens before that problem can be solved. But conditions which would put a premium upon industrial enterprise yet undreamed of in India would result if India's vast currency were linked to and standardised upon the stable value of the common commodities which Nature enables her to produce so plentifully. Money would then flow again more freely liberating the productive resources and idle time of India's people and transmitting that capacity into the roads and transport and electricity and water supply and sanitation of which she stands so urgently in need.

A. T. WESTON.

THE TEXT OF SHAKESPEARE

In his delightful little play 'The Rehearsal' the Honourable Maurice Baring presents an imaginary situation the like of which might induce Shakespeare to change his original draft of a play. In this play (The Rehearsal) Shakespeare himself is present at a rehearsal of *Macbeth*. Mr. Hughes, a young man of about twenty-four, in his role as Lady Macbeth, bleats out the lines—"Oh hell! Fie, fie, my Lord! a soldier and a beard! ...you'd never have thought the old man had so much blood in him!" The stage Manager, who is standing by, cries out impatiently, "It's 'a soldier and afeard,' and not 'a soldier and a beard'." "And after that you made two lines into rhymed verse," chimes in Mr. Shakespeare. "I thought it wanted it," was the feeble reply of Lady Macbeth. The producer now interposes: "Please try to speak your lines as they are written, Mr. Hughes," says he. Later on Burbage (*i.e.*, Macbeth) demands a soliloquy for himself "if possible in rhyme, in any case ending with a tag. I must have something to make Macbeth sympathetic, otherwise the public won't have it." So poor Shakespeare is compelled to write the passage "To-morrow and to-morrow and to-morrow, etc." But Burbage is not satisfied because it is too short and 'there's not a single rhyme in it.' So exit Burbage in a passion. Baring thus directs our attention to some problems that are interesting to some scholars.

Now, without caring to speculate on what might have been, let us study thoroughly the text of Shakespeare and try to ascertain what actually came from our author's pen.

The First Folio and the Quartos.

At the very outset we ask ourselves the question—what is the true text of Shakespeare? In reply we may point to the First Folio of 1623, published only seven years after the death of the

poet. It has thirty-six plays out of the thirty-seven now assigned to Shakespeare. The only exception, *Pericles*, was included in the Third Folio of 1664. Of these thirty-six plays sixteen were previously published in the Quarto form during the poet's life-time. For the remaining twenty plays the First Folio is our only authority, but for which they would have perished, and we know what a great number of Elizabethan plays have perished for want of a copy. The copyright of *Pericles* belonged to another publisher in 1623, and he had brought out its third Quarto in 1619. Probably he refused permission to Jaggard (the publisher of the First Folio) and that accounts for its absence from the first collected edition of Shakespeare's plays. Of the sixteen previously published plays, *Hamlet*, and *Romeo and Juliet* have each two quartos—each different from the other, showing that they (*i.e.*, the two quartos of the same play) were derived from different sources. There were reprints of many of the quartos during the poet's life-time. We need not take into account those reprints.

Thus we have the First Folio and nineteen quartos (including *Pericles* and the additional Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Hamlet*) as our sources for the text of Shakespeare's plays. Of course we must leave out the five Bad Quartos (we shall see later on why they are bad) from this list. Now the question is what is the relation of these Quartos to the First Folio? and what is the relation of the Quartos and the Folio taken together to Shakespeare's original drafts of the plays?

Modern editions of the plays contain many things we do not find in the Folio or the Quartos. Acts and scene-divisions are the works of modern editors, stage directions also are supplied by them in most cases. When the Folio and Quarto versions of the same play differ, editors arbitrarily accept one version or reject both substituting something of their own. Sometimes again they take the additional lines of both the versions probably on the assumption that the more Shakespeare we get the better for us. Thus in *King Lear* there are some

190 lines found in the Quarto but absent from the Folio, and there are some 80 lines given by the Folio but omitted by the Quarto. Editors bring the whole lot into the play. Though liberties are taken by good scholars, what they give us is not the whole of Shakespeare. If the editor feels that he must make certain changes in a play (and in doing this he is at fault in most cases) he must give indications of all the changes he introduces so as to give the scholarly reader an opportunity to find out for himself what Shakespeare was likely to write. Of course we are not speaking now of school editions.

To know as nearly as possible what Shakespeare wrote, we must go to the First Folio and the good Quartos published during the author's life-time. The later Folios are mere reprints (of the First) with additional printing mistakes and other mistakes due to misunderstanding and misreading. Though they have their importance, for our purpose they are useless.

Nature of the Copy for the First Folio.

A few words are here necessary to indicate the nature of the copy for the First Folio. The collectors of the plays, John Heminge and Henry Condell, in their preface to the First Folio, declare them to be "published according to the true original copies." Addressing the 'great variety of Readers' they say "as (where) you were abus'd with diverse stolne and surreptitious copies, maimed and deform'd by the frauds and stealthes of injurious imposters, that expos'd them: even those are offered to your view cur'd and perfect of their limbs, and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceived them." So Heminge and Condell would have us believe that before them only 'stolne and surreptitious' copies were published—thereby they mean all the Quartos before 1623. They imply further that they had access to Shakespeare's original autograph manuscripts. That is why they say that the plays are as Shakespeare 'conceived them,' and that 'his mind

and hand went together. And what he thought, he uttered with that easinesse, that wee have scarce received from him a blot in his papers.' Thus they tell us that they had access to Shakespeare's autograph MSS., otherwise they could not know that he scarcely had 'a blot in his paper.' This must be true at least of some of the plays. Even the previous corrupt texts were 'cur'd' and made 'perfect of their limbs' by Heminge and Condell. As we shall see later on they did use some Quartos as the copy for their edition. But all these were Good Quartos and they had nothing to do with the five Bad Quartos (the term "good" and "bad" are used according to Prof. Pollard's classification). That they knew what was genuine and what was not is evident from another fact. In 1619 there was an attempt to publish a collection of Shakespeare's plays by William Jaggard and his colleagues. Ten plays were published and they were all attributed to Shakespeare. These plays were 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, *Pericles*, *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, *Merry Wives*, *Merchant of Venice*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *King Lear*, *Henry V* and *Sir John Oldcastle*. But Heminge and Condell, who knew the truth, were careful enough not to accept any one of the non-Shakespearian plays from the above list.

Heminge and Condell were undoubtedly Shakespeare's friends and fellow-actors. The poet had bequeathed 26s. 8d. apiece to them and to Richard Burbage for memorial rings. They certainly knew how the plays were acted and where the true copy was to be had. Their purpose was (to use their own language) "onely to keepe the memory of so worthy a Friend and Fellow alive, as was our Shakespeare." This seems to be an expression of sincere affection. All these go to show that we have every reason to believe that Heminge and Condell gave us faithful versions of Shakespeare's plays.

Where there was a copy at the Globe Theatre, Heminge and Condell made use of it. Sometimes they used a good Quarto published before 1623, because they knew which Quarto represented Shakespeare's copy truthfully. When they could not get a

good copy (this was true of only a few plays) they prepared their manuscripts by bringing together the players' parts into a continuous text. This seems to be the case in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Merry Wives* and *Winter's Tale*. Perhaps they had reasons to believe that by assembling the players' parts they were giving a fairly good copy of Shakespeare's text.

There could not be many copies of a play in the theatre. Shakespeare wrote for the stage and not for private study. He was attached to a company to which he made over all right in his manuscripts, and he was paid for it by the company. The manager would not allow a play to be printed until its popularity on the stage was exhausted. Only occasionally would he allow a true version to be published in order to replace a piratical version. Thus, in 1604 was published the second Quarto of *Hamlet* "newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect coppie—printed by J. R. for N. L. and to be sold at his shoppe under St. Dunstons Church in Fleet Street." To save from pirates some plays he was producing at the time, the manager would at times have them entered in the Stationers' Register so that no one else might get their copy-right. This seems to have been the case with *Antony and Cleopatra* and *As You Like It*—which had been licensed before 1623 but were not published. We know that publishers in those days used to print, without the author's or owner's knowledge, plays, which had been successful on the stage.

The First Folio had three divisions—'Comedies, Histories and Tragedies.' Each of these divisions had a separate pagination. *Troilus* was ultimately added at the end mostly unpagged. The plays in the three divisions were not published according to their chronological order. Thus the first division begins with the *Tempest*, a late play, and it is immediately followed by the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, an early play. This is true of all the three divisions.

The First Folio has acts marked in the case of all but six

plays, these six were 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, *Troilus*, *Timon*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Romeo and Juliet*—the last being based on a previous Quarto, others being based on manuscripts. Only sixteen of the Folio plays have scene-divisions. But all the thirty-six plays begin with a formula—‘Actus Primus, Scene Prima.’ In many plays there is no other trace of a scene, and in some there is no other ‘actus’ even. King John has only 80 lines in ‘Actus Secundus,’ and the last two acts of the same play are marked ‘Actus Quartus.’ There are Act and scene-divisions in the first four plays of section I (Comedies), but in the fifth (i.e., *The Comedy of Errors*) there is no scene-division, only Acts are marked. In sec. II (Histories) also the first four plays have Act- and scene divisions, but the fifth (i.e., *Henry V*) has only Acts marked. In section III (Tragedies) the first play (i.e., *Coriolanus*) has only Acts, but scenes are found in *Macbeth* later on. So it seems that at the beginning of each of the three sections there was an attempt at editing as is evident from the introduction of Act and scene-divisions (especially in the first two sections) and from the editing away of prompter’s notes. On the other hand there is no Act- or scene division in the Quartos. So it is probable that Shakespeare wrote the plays to be performed in an unbroken continuity. Act- and scene divisions in modern editions are therefore works of modern editors and have not the sanction of Shakespeare.

Coming to the Quartos we find that all of them are not of equal value. The first Quarto (1603) of *Hamlet* and that of *Romeo and Juliet* (1597) are full of discrepancies, and both were replaced by better Quartos, i.e., by *Hamlet* of 1604, and *Romeo and Juliet* of 1599 respectively. As has already been said the theatrical manager would not generally allow the publication of a play. But publishers were anxious to bring out popular plays. So the latter would bribe the play-house scrivener or a player to help them. Sometimes they would take long- or short-hand notes of a play while it was being acted.

(We now know that Elizabethan writers had a short-hand of their own.) Thus the First Quarto of *Hamlet* has distinct marks of some one taking long- or short-hand notes. The text is certainly one of those 'stolne and surreptitious copies.' Whenever the Quarto differs from ¹ Q₂ or F₁, it bears marks of the short-hand writer. It is full of contracted forms, *e.g.*

Q₂...a beast that wants discourse of reason.

Q₁...a beast devoid of reason.

Q₂...Ile have grounds more relative than this.

Q₁...I will have sounder proofs.

We can cite many other examples like these. In the ghost scenes (Act I, scenes IV and V) both the Quartos agree where Hamlet is supposed to speak slowly as the occasion requires. But as soon as Hamlet begins to talk rapidly in a passionate language the Q₁ misses many lines and has only a few words here and there. This is a clear sign that a short-hand writer took notes of an acting version and he could not keep pace with Hamlet when the latter spoke rapidly. There are several signs in Q₁ of words misheard or notes misread, having been taken down by the ear, *e.g.* 'invelmorable' for 'invulnerable.' Some stage directions in Q₁ seem to be taken down by an eye-witness of a performance, *e.g.*, Q₂ has 'Enter ghost,' and Q₁ has 'Enter the ghost in his night gowne'; Q₂ has 'Enter Ophelia,' and Q₁ has 'Enter Ofelia playing on a Lute, with her haire down singing;' Q₁ has 'They catch one anothers Rapiers, and both are wounded, Laertes falles downe, the Queene falles downe and dies,' and the Q₂ has no stage direction here. The parts of Marcellus and Voltemand are practically the same in both the Quartos. This shows that the reporter of the acting version of the play had made some arrangements with the actors who took the parts of Marcellus and Voltemand.

The second Quarto of *Hamlet* (1604) is a much better text and it does not differ much from the F₁. It seems that the

¹ Note.—F₁=F irst Folio; Q₁=1st Quarto; Q₂=2nd Quarto.

*publishers of the F₁ had the second Quarto for their copy. A good Quarto has almost always a licence from the Stationers' company and bears the name and address of the publisher or the book-seller. On the other hand a bad Quarto has no licence from the Stationers. In addition to this if there is no address, as in the case of the Q₁ of *Romeo and Juliet*—"London, Printed by John Danter, 1597" (and also in the case of the Q₁ of *Hamlet*) without any address, there is a suspicion that there is something wrong with it. With this we may compare what is written in the second Quarto of *Hamlet* already quoted.*

The Three Discoveries.

Let us now take note of three most important discoveries of recent years, which have made the work of the textual critic easy.

The first is that of Prof. A. W. Pollard, who discovered that MSS. which the printers of Shakespeare's plays, especially of some quartos, received, were the author's autographs. Hence such quartos possess a great authority. Prof. Pollard has divided the quartos into two classes—good and bad. The Good Quartos, according to him, are fourteen in number, *viz.*, *Titus Andronicus* (1594), *Richard II* (1597), *Richard III* (1597), *Loves Labour Lost* (1598), *1 Henry IV* (1598), *Romeo and Juliet* (1599), *Merchant of Venice* (1600), *Much Ado* (1600), *2 Henry IV* (1600), *Midsummer Night's Dream* (1600), *Hamlet* (1604), *King Lear* (1608), *Troilus* (1609) and *Othello* (1622). Of these fourteen, twelve were used as copies for the First Folio, the two exceptions being *2 Henry IV* and *Othello*. All of these plays except two, *i.e.*, *Loves Labour Lost* and *Romeo*, were regularly entered in the Stationers' Register. The Bad Quartos, according to Prof. Pollard, are *Romeo* (1597), *Henry V* (1600), *Merry Wives* (1602), *Hamlet* (1603), *Pericles* (1608)—all have textual defects and they were not entered in the Stationers' Register.

The second discovery is that of Mr. Percy Simpson, who says that the stops in the First Folio and Quartos, which

previous editors considered to be haphazard, are play-house punctuation directing actors how to speak their lines Shakespeare being attached to a theatre wrote for the stage and hence used this play-house punctuation. One example, out of many produced by Mr. Simpson, will probably suffice at this moment. Grammar teaches us that we should observe the stops thus :— when there is a comma we should stop while we count one; when a semi-colon, while we count two ; when a colon, three ; when a full-stop, four. Now, in *Henry V* (V, i, 49ff.) Pistol, in fear of Fluellen's cudgel, eats the leek and speaks thus (according to the First Folio) :—

“By this leeke, I will most horribly revenge I eate and eate I sweare.” Some editors have a colon after ‘revenge’ and a comma after the second ‘eate.’ But the absence of any stop in the Folio shows that Fluellen is brandishing his cudgel, and if Pistol stops to count three after ‘revenge’ or even one after ‘eate’ the cudgel will at once fall on his head. So the Folio punctuation shows how Pistol should speak these lines without a moment’s pause. Similarly, Celia’s lines, “if my uncle thy banished Father had banished thy uncle the Duke my Father” in the Folio, shows how she should speak. So the absence of any stop (as well as brackets and capital letters) in the Folio and the Quartos, is not rhythmical, but dramatic, and it gives what we may call stage Directions.

The meanings of some crucial passages in Shakespeare depend upon this punctuation. Let us take the famous words of Lady Macbeth (I, ii) “We fail?” ending with a note of interrogation in the Folio. This sign stands for a note of exclamation in old texts (*cf.* Juliet’s “O what a beast was I to chide him?” —F₁) and here it means an exclamation of scornful amazement. This might be Shakespeare’s own punctuation or of some one else who knew Shakespeare’s original. Though a comma after ‘we fail’ may yield good meaning, editors in giving up the Folio punctuation run a great risk, for it certainly has not the sanction of Shakespeare.

The third discovery was made by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, who holds a very high position in modern Palaeography. There is a manuscript play in the British Museum called '*Sir Thomas More*' (of about 1595). It is an anti-alien play written originally by one hand. There are seven additional leaves written by five revisers. The original handwriting (on 13 pages) is now considered to be Anthony Munday's. Of the five revisers one is considered to be Thomas Dekker. There are three revised pages containing 147 lines written for insertion in a scene of the insurrection of Londoners against aliens, which was quelled by Thomas More, then the Sheriff of London. Let us now concentrate our attention on these 3 pages. The hand of Edmund Tilney, the Master of Revels, who was the censor, is to be found in the margin (Fol. 3a)—"Leave out the insurrection wholly and the cause theroff and begin with Sir Tho : Moore att the mayors sessions with a reportt afterwards off his good servic don being Shrive off London vppon a mutiny Agaynst the Lumbards only by A short reportt and nott otherwise att your own perrilles E Tyllney." Hence an expert would be called in to rewrite the scene dealing with the crowd. So the surmise is that Shakespeare was called in to revise this portion of the play. As early as 1871 Richard Simpson claimed this portion of the play (147 lines) to be Shakespeare's on account of the 'Shakespearean flavour' of the passage. This was also the view of some later critics. In 1911 Dr. W. W. Greg wrote, "these hasty pages have individual qualities to mark them off from the rest of the play.....So striking are these qualities that more than one critic has persuaded himself that the lines can have come from no pen but Shakespeare's." Prof. R. W. Chambers says, "Not only does Sir Thomas More share with the Bishop of Carlisle, Ulysses and Coriolanus their passionate.....fear of chaos ; what is more significant is that in expressing these things they all speak the same tongue." According to many scholars the three pages of Sir Thomas More display all the traits of the crowd as are to be found only in Shakespeare. Palaeography now supports the

view that these three pages were written by Shakespeare. For Sir Edward M. Thompson compares the handwriting of these three pages with the six known signatures of Shakespeare (subscribed to his deposition in a law-suit on May 11th, 1612; the conveyance of a house in London in 1613; and the three signatures to his will on March 25th, 1616). Sir Edward compares every letter of the signatures with the same letters in the three pages of Sir Thomas More and comes to the conclusion that they must have been written by the same hand. Sir Edward has shown how Shakespeare used to write and he has also taught us how we should proceed in suggesting emendations in the poet's works. We now know what letters were likely to be misread by printers and scribes. So we have no right to indulge in a mere guess-work. "Ninety-nine per cent. of the shots," says Prof. Pollard, "which overcrowd the notes of the Variorum editions are shown to be altogether off the mark."

The importance of this discovery may be demonstrated by one or two examples. With regard to Falstaff's death Mrs. Quickly, according to the Folio, says (Henry V. II, iii, 13ff.), "after I saw him fumble with the sheets, and play with Flowers, and smile upon his fingers end, I knew there was but one way: for his Nose was as sharpe as a Pen, and a Table of greene fields." Editors now adopt Theobald's reading "for his nose was as sharp as a pen, and a 'babbled of green fields.'" Though it was a mere conjecture by Theobald, we now know that "babbled would very likely be written 'babld' ('bable' occurs elsewhere in the same play), and in the handwriting of Shakespeare's day b & t, and final d & e are difficult to distinguish. So 'babld' seems to be a legitimate reading for 'table' of the Folio. Again Hamlet's 'too too solid flesh' (I, ii, 129 of F₁) is "too much grieved and sallied flesh" in Q₁ and "too too sallied flesh" in Q₂. There is another instance in Q₂ of 'sallies,' written for 'sullies,' showing that 'a' and 'u' could be confused in Shakespeare's handwriting. Hence 'sullied' was

misread as 'sallied' in the two Quartos, and at last the Folio wrongly emended it to 'solid.'

*Conditions under which Quartos and the Folio
were published.*

In the light of these discoveries the trained scholar can ascertain fairly accurately what really is the text of Shakespeare.

In those days the autograph manuscript of the author was taken to the Master of Revels for allowing the play to be acted publicly. The Theatre-manager would not ordinarily make a transcription, for this would mean more expenditure besides rendering the play liable to piracy. So the author's autograph manuscript, with the Master of Revel's consent written on it (as in the case of the MS. play—*Sir Thomas Moore*), would serve as a prompt-copy in the theatre. The prompter would then make his notes on it. There are distinct signs of stage-directions and prompter's notes in most of the Quartos and many of the Folio plays. Shakespeare being attached to a theatre might use the technical language of a prompter. So he himself might be responsible for the stage-direction in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*—'Enter a Faerie at one doore and Robin Good fellow at another.' 'Enter the king of Faeries at one doore, with his traine; and the Queene at another with hers.' The doors must refer to those of the stage, for in the wood no door could be expected. But in the Quarto (1599) of *Romeo and Juliet* we have the prompter's note 'Enter Will Kemp.' Kemp is the name of an actor (his name occurs in the list of actors at the beginning of the First Folio), and his name occurs in the place of the character he was to represent. In *Much Ado* (both in the F₁ and the Q) occur the names of the actors Kemp and Cowley; in 2 *Henry IV* the name of Sinklo occurs. All these are actors. In the *Taming of the Shrew*, Sinklo's name occurs, again, instead of the second player in the induction (scene I, line

3 *Henry VI* has 'Enter Sinklo and Humfrey with crossehowes in their hands.' There are again stage-directions in the imperative, e.g., 'whistle boy' or 'Enter Romeo and Juliet aloft. Play musicke'—both in *Romeo and Juliet*. In *A Mid-Summer Night's Dream* the prompter is ordering Demetrius—'Ly down.' These were undoubtedly put in by the prompter in the theatre, and they occur both in the Quartos and the Folio.

The Quarto (1600) of *A Mid-Summer Night's Dream* has prompter's notes. The Folio was based on this Quarto. But in addition to the prompter's notes of the Quarto there are fresh notes in the Folio. Thus we have the stage-direction 'Enter Piramus with the asse head.' (III, i, 106). In modern editions we have 'an ass's head.' It is somebody in the theatre who knew that there was only one ass's head. Similarly in the Folio version of *Much Ado*, which was based on the Quarto of 1600, there are additional prompter's notes, e.g., the names of the actors Kemp and Wilson occur for Dogberry and Verges (II, iii).

It is quite probable that Shakespeare's autograph manuscript was used as a prompt-copy, for there are unmistakable prompter's notes in many plays. This autograph manuscript probably went to the press for the "Good Quartos." Actors then replaced their MS. prompt-copy by a copy of the printed Quarto, which in its turn received fresh stage-directions. And we have seen that this printed prompt-copy was used by Heminge and Condell as a source of their texts in some cases. So in all the "Good Quartos" and most of the Folio texts we come very near to Shakespeare, we seem to see—as Heminge and Condell did—Shakespeare's hand at work. So with regard to most of the plays there is no uncertainty. The trained textual critic has only to study carefully the Good Text. But we must remember that the First Folio is a collection of plays, each one having a separate theatrical history and therefore an individual textual peculiarity of its own. The editor must read the history of each play carefully.

In 1904 (in *Variorum Report*) Dr. Furness wrote : "Even since the appearance, forty years ago, of the Cambridge Shakespeare, this whole question of texts, has gradually subsided until now it is fairly lulled to sleep as grateful as it is deep." "That sleep," says Mr. Dover Wilson, "the sleep of ignorance and despair was politely and effectively disturbed by the publication of Prof. Pollard's "Shakespeare Folio and Quartos" (1909). A scientific and thorough study of "Shakespeare's text has now been begun in right earnest. The new discoveries are immensely helpful to the textual critic, discoveries which were unknown to old editors. We may hope that in the near future the problem of Shakespeare's Text will be brought to a satisfactory solution.

S. M. CHANDA

THE CROWN AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

If there is any institution permanent and fixed about the British Empire with its chequered history, it is the Crown. It was in the name of the Crown that the first colonists established their first settlements, whether as trading corporations or planting communities; it was under the suzerainty of the Crown that they established their own governments; it was as a grant from the Crown that they got representative institutions and subsequently responsible government and to-day they stand forth as distinct self-governing nations united in a common system by a common allegiance to a common Crown.¹ So it may be said without fear of contradiction that the Crown is the greatest common factor in the British Empire,—that unique political structure of the present day. But the political significance attaching to the Crown as the head of the British Empire has undergone an immense change, so much so that we may say, in a way, that the political history of the British Empire is but the history of the development of the constitutional position of the Crown in the Imperial system. The object of this paper is not to trace this history but simply to deal with the latest phase in this development, the new rôle that the Crown has been called upon to play in relation to the most advanced part of the British Empire which has come to be known as the “British Commonwealth of Nations.” Now this last phrase requires some explanation. The British Empire is a dynamic unity or to quote Sir Cecil Hurst, “There is nothing static about the British Empire.” The idea may be further elucidated in the words of the same writer: “These great communities (self-governing

¹ This description, of course, does not apply to the Irish Free State, whose evolution has taken a different course.

ones) have all the time been climbing a ladder. Now they have reached the top; but the climbing process is common to all the communities which form part of the Empire.The dominions of to-day were but Crown colonies in the past. The Crown colonies of to-day will be dominions in days to come.¹” In fact, in this dynamic aspect lies the distinctive feature of the British Empire—a feature that marks it off from the Empires that have preceded it. Britain has profited by the errors of Rome and Egypt and has accepted the principles of equality, freedom and co-operation as the progressive ideals for her Imperial development. Equality and free co-operation are its ideals, but the constituent communities do not at present enjoy the same status, as they are at different stages of political development. So we find at one end of the pole, communities governed from Whitehall with or without some flimsy representative institutions, while at the other end fully self-governing communities claiming all the rights of free nations and maintaining their connection with the one-time mother country only through the subtle link of common allegiance to a common Crown. It is these latter who have reached their consummation within the British Empire, and make up what has been recently named as the ‘British Commonwealth of Nations’ forming the vanguard in the congeries of political communities comprised within the wider entity called the British Empire.² But even this group does not form a rigid water-tight compartment; its door is always open to admit new members who have qualified themselves for such entry by demonstrating their

¹ “Great Britain and Her Dominions,” Harris Foundation Lectures, 1927, p. 13.

² “‘Commonwealth of Nations’ is the name for Great Britain and the Dominions in their free associations under the Crown. The sovereign freedom of the individual members of the alliance is not interfered with thereby—that is to say, by their *free* association. This also applies to the term ‘British Empire’ under which name come to stand grouped the Dominions under Great Britain, as well as India, Rhodesia, and other nations under the Crown, which stand outside the circle of the ‘Commonwealth of Nations.’” Speech by General Hertzog at Pretoria, December 20, 1926, quoted in Noel Baker, *Juridical Status of the British Dominions*, p. 10, footnote.

powers of standing on their own feet. Moreover although all of them enjoy the same status, they do not participate in the same functions. Thus there is not a flat uniformity even about the British Commonwealth of Nations. But transcending all diversity that exists between the constituent parts, two essential factors common to all of them come to view—these are, first, their union through a common allegiance to a single crown, and, second, their nationhood. By ‘nationhood’ we do not mean simply that they satisfy the abstract attributes of a nation, but they also fulfil all its objective tests. They are fully self-governing communities ‘in every aspect of their domestic and external affairs.’ This combination of ‘nationhood’ and allegiance to a single crown may sound rather paradoxical, but in the reconciliation of such apparently paradoxical principles lies the greatest achievement of British statesmanship and political genius. Previously the bond of allegiance to the Crown was much stronger or more effective and in fact the parts of the British Empire were held together by a tight grip of the Crown over all their affairs both domestic and external. But with a growing sense of national self-consciousness on the part of the Dominions this bond came to be more and more relaxed and was replaced by the more subtle link of free co-operation until to-day they have been officially declared as “*autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated* as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.’ It is necessary to draw particular attention to the underlined portions in the declaration. We may note in passing that the Report embodying this declaration has been formally and officially accepted by the British Cabinet and the Parliaments of the Dominions and as such bear the seal of approval on the part of these governments which cannot possibly be repudiated in future due to cross currents of party politics. It has been suggested that they lack legal sanction inasmuch as the principles embodied

in the Report have not been implemented by Parliamentary enactment. But as against this it may be said that very little of constitutional relations within the Empire rests on parliamentary enactment, the greater part depending on mere conventions. The principles embodied in the report are more than simple conventions inasmuch as they have been definitely formulated by the Imperial Conference consisting of the representatives of the different governments and then formally and tacitly accepted by the respective governments. Its authoritative character is in no way less than if it had been implemented by parliamentary legislation. The implications of the simple sentence quoted above are very far-reaching, although hardly clear and precise. This obscurity and vagueness has given rise to hot controversy as to their exact implications on various aspects of the constitutional relations between different parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations *inter se* as well as their status in international law according to the mental attitude of different thinkers to the constitutional status of Dominions which is sometimes not free from a preconceived bias. Some have read in it a declaration of sovereign independence of the Dominions including the constitutional right to secede from the Empire at any moment, while others have found in it enunciation of no new principle but simply a confirmation of the conventions that came to be established in course of time. In this paper we propose only to discuss the implications of the declaration so far as they have a bearing on the position of the Crown in the 'British Commonwealth of Nations.'

Working on this definition of Dominion Status the authors of the Report tried to remove certain very glaring anomalies in the existing constitutional forms which bear traces of the colonial origin of the Dominions which had already become out of place in the course of their progress towards complete autonomy. Now that their new status was officially recognized by the Imperial Conference these crude forms could, in their opinion, no longer be employed in relation to inter-imperial or international relations of the Dominions.

In the first place, the title of the Crown had to be changed. In place of the old title "George V, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India,"—the authors of the Report suggested "George V, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, etc."¹ This is quite significant of the new developments. The first change, *viz.*, replacement of "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" by "Great Britain, Ireland" points to the constitution of Ireland as a separate Dominion detached from the United Kingdom, while the deletion of the preposition "of" between "and" and "the British Dominions" indicates the equal position of Great Britain as well as the Dominions before the Crown. This last fact has been further emphasised by the recent conference presided over by Lord Passfield on the Operation of Dominions Legislation and Merchant Shipping Legislation, in their recommendation which reads as follows: "In as much as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom." In other words, the conception of the unity and indivisibility of the Crown is clothed with a new meaning, made all the richer and more fruitful for that. The Crown has been and is one and indivisible in the British Empire all the time, but still it was claimed in a special sense by Great Britain in so far as the British Parliament alone was recognised to possess the

¹ It may be noted that this recommendation has been given effect to by the Royal and Parliamentary Titles Act of 1927.

legislative authority to deal with such matters as succession to or title of the Crown. This has been set at rest by the action of the conference of 1930.

Let us now pass on to the consideration of the new roll of the Crown in the sphere of Legislation in the British Commonwealth. Prior to 1914, the Dominion Parliaments suffered from various legal disabilities in the matter of legislative competence and as such were in no way equal partners in the Empire with Great Britain whose legislature had sovereign authority. In fact, Keith was justified to a very great extent in observing in his book "Constitution, Administration and Laws of the Empire" (p. 16), published in 1924, "The foundation of the constitution of the Empire lies in the doctrine of the absolute validity throughout the Empire of any legislation by the Imperial Parliament, whatever its subject matter." Whereas on the one hand the legislation of the British Parliament was legally supreme throughout the Empire, the Dominion Parliaments had no authority to legislate with extra-territorial effect and also in some specific matters; then there were provisions in the Dominion constitutions for 'disallowance' and 'reservation' of Dominion legislation. In regard to the last matter the thing to be noted is that the King's prerogative to refuse assent to Dominion legislation whether reserved or not, was exercised on the advice of his British ministers. Of course with the growth of local autonomy in the Dominions these powers became practically obsolescent, although Royal instructions imposed on the Dominion Governor-General the duty of reservation in respect of particular classes of bills calculated to affect adversely the Imperial interests. Yet the rights remained unimpaired in law. But this was deemed by the Balfour Committee to be inconsistent with the declared equality of status. So they laid down some general principles which should govern the exercise of these rights in the light of this equality of status, leaving the detailed examination of the issues arising therefrom to an expert committee. Their recommendation on the point is as follows :—

"Apart from provisions embodied in constitutions or in specific statutes expressly providing for reservation, it is recognised that it is the right of the government of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs. Consequently it would not be in accordance with the constitutional practice for advice to be tendered to His Majesty by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain in any matter appertaining to the affairs of a Dominion against the views of the Government of that Dominion." The effect of this recommendation is that the right of the Crown to refuse assent to Dominion legislation as such is retained but the formal manner of its exercise is changed : where the king was advised to act on the advice of his ministers in Great Britain he would now be advised in all matters relating to a Dominion by his ministers in the Dominion concerned. But this makes all the difference ; for it virtually obliterates the right of disallowance, except in respect of legislation excluded under this recommendation, because the Dominion ministers cannot presumably be expected to advise him to disallow a bill passed by the Dominion Parliament and as such with their assent explicit or implicit.¹ As regards reservation, the right of the Governor-General to reserve bills passed by the Dominion legislature for the assent of the Crown is limited only to cases where such reservation is specifically required by the Constitution Act or an Act of the Imperial Parliament. In other cases it is inconceivable that the Dominion ministers would advise the Crown to instruct the Governor-General to reserve bills passed by Dominion Parliament. The position has been further cleared up by the recommendations on these points of the expert committees referred to above, which have been accepted by the

¹ Even in respect of Dominion bills not relating to its own affairs purely, although there is nothing to prevent His Majesty's Government in Great Britain to advise the Crown to disallow, yet that advice should in no case cross the views of the Dominion Government concerned. In other words the right of disallowance can be exercised only when the Dominion Government can be persuaded to believe that such disallowance will not militate against the interests of the Dominion. Virtually speaking, it may be said to have become obsolete.

last Imperial Conference held in 1930. In the matter of disallowance the Committee took the view that the power was already obsolete in constitutional practice no useful purpose could be served by retaining it in law and therefore recommended its formal abolition by amendment of the constitution by the Dominion Parliaments where they possessed constituent authority or by the British Parliament, if so requested by a Dominion which is not competent to amend its own constitution. Only one exception is made in favour of the Colonial Stock Act, 1900, which does not come under the rule laid down and this is dictated by obvious consideration of political expediency.

As regards reservation, the Committee begins its work where the Balfour Committee left it, that is, it takes into consideration the procedure to be employed in relation to the excepted cases in the Report. They distinguish between two classes of reservation: (a) statutory provisions which confer on the Governor-General a discretionary power of reservation, and (b) those which are obligatory. As regards (a) they recommend that right of the Governor-General in this behalf should be exercised in accordance with the constitutional practice in the Dominion itself and should not be influenced in any way by the advice of the British Cabinet tendered to the king to instruct the Governor-General to reserve any bill presented to him for assent and even when a bill is reserved for Royal assent it should be given or withheld on the advice of the Dominion Cabinet and not of the British Cabinet. But even in this qualified form the right would not serve the purpose for which it was originally meant, *viz.*, as a constitutional check on the excesses of the Dominion Parliament, because the independent exercise of this right by the Governor-General without the consent of or against the views of the Dominion Cabinet would be incompatible with the new position of the Governor-General laid down in the Report as assimilated to the constitutional position of the Crown in British political system. So practically it means nothing. In cases where the Governor-General is obliged under specific

statutory provisions to reserve dominion legislation for the King's assent, the action of the King in such matters, according to the committee, should be governed by the general rule "that it is the right of the Government of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs." It is apparent from what has been said above that the power of reservation, whether discretionary or compulsory, has become an anachronism in the present stage of constitutional development of the Dominions and the Committee have only been rational in recommending its abolition by the necessary device of constitutional amendment, if the Dominions so choose. It is curious to note that Professor Keith cannot see his way to subscribe to this position. He takes the view that "the rule that the British Government should not advise the Crown to act contrary to Dominion advice is applicable only to Acts or Bills which do not fall within the saving clause—'provisions embodied in constitution or, in specific statutes expressly providing for reservation.'¹ But in his opinion the attempt to create such an artificial distinction would lead to practical difficulties. "Any interpretation of the Conference Report which means that the British Government could use its discretion in refusing assent to any Merchant Shipping Bill, but must acquiesce in a far more serious Bill which was not technically subject to reservation, would be absurd."² So he concludes that "the only mode in which to give a reasonable interpretation to the Report is to assume that it is merely an involved mode of asserting the obvious fact that nothing but the gravest reasons would justify the Imperial Government in hindering the enactment of Dominion legislation, and that this rule applies equally to cases where existing laws require reservation and to those where they do not."³ In other words, he brushes aside the recommendations of the Report as meaningless jargon and would retain full discretion in the Government of the United

¹ Keith, *The Sovereignty of the British Dominions*, p. 214.

² *Ibid*, p. 215.

³ *Ibid*, p. 217.

kingdom when to intervene and put obstacles in the way of Dominion legislation being passed. It is difficult to see how this can be reconciled with the declared equality of status of the Dominions even if read along with the clause "the principles of equality and similarity, appropriate to status, do not universally extend to function," by which Prof. Keith sets so much store. His position on this point is definitely based on the superiority of one partner in British Commonwealth over the rest—a position to repudiate which was the main concern of the Imperial Conference of 1926. He has perhaps in mind the necessity of some form of protection in the contingency of Dominions passing legislation contrary to the interests of the Empire or even effecting secession from the Empire but the self-governing Dominions have long outlived that stage when they can be prevented from going astray by the mother-country; the best method in such cases is to hold prior consultation or a conference if more than two partners are affected. A procedure analogous to that in the matter of negotiation of treaties may be adopted, *viz.*, to notify to other parts of the Empire the action they propose to take to give them an opportunity to have their say, if any, in the matter and in case of their failing to indicate their attitude within a definite period the Dominion concerned would be at liberty to have it passed as it likes. Of course this would not apply to legislation of a purely local character.

We now pass on to another aspect of the new constitutional position of the Crown as reflected in the changed rôle of the Dominion Governor-General. Previously the Governor-General, apart from serving as the local representative of the Crown, the supreme Executive throughout the British Empire, was also in many matters the agent of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the official channel of communication between the Dominion Government and the Imperial Government. These two latter functions came to be looked upon as a mark of inferiority by the Dominions and already restricted in practice till in 1926 the constitutional position of the Governor-General

was formally defined by the Balfour Committee in the following words :—

“In our opinion it is an essential consequence of the equality of status existing among the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations that the Governor-General of a Dominion is the representative of the Crown, holding in all essential respects the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs in the Dominion as is held by His Majesty in Great Britain and he is not the representative or agent of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain or any Department of that Government.”

It seemed to us to follow that the practice whereby the Governor-General of a Dominion is the formal official channel of communication between His Majesty's Government in Great Britain and His Majesty's Governments in the Dominions might be regarded as no longer wholly in accordance with the constitutional position of the Governor-General. It was thought therefore that the recognised official channel of communication should be, in future, between Government and Government direct. From the above it would be clear that the Governor-General would bear the person of the Crown in relation to the executive functions belonging to him. It may be noted in passing that all the prerogatives of the Crown do not automatically pass to the Governor-General. As Noel Baker observes, “In foreign as in domestic affairs the king is the head of the Dominion Governments. With him acting on the advice of his Ministers, lie ‘the legal powers necessary for formal action in respect of the relations of the Empire or its component parts with foreign states.’ (D. Hall. J. C. L. October, 1920). Thus no Dominion can undertake any negotiation, conclude any treaty, appoint any Minister or delegate abroad, without the exercise of the sovereign prerogative of the Crown in the grant of full powers, instruments of ratification, and so on. And it so happens that in respect of foreign affairs the king has not delegated his prerogative authority and powers

to the Governor-General of Dominions, as he has done in respect of domestic matters. In the domestic government of the Dominions the Governor-General is effectively the source of executive authority; with his formal approval and consent the Dominion Ministers carry on the work of their day-to-day administration. With some exceptions he has authority to act for the king.¹ But although at the present moment all the royal prerogatives in domestic and external affairs of Dominions are not exercised by the Governor-General, it does not signify any mark of inferiority or subordination in the Dominion Governments as once it used to, although perhaps thinkers of the Imperialist School like Prof. Keith and others would still maintain that it does. But in the face of the clear language of the Report of 1926 it is difficult to hold this view. We thoroughly agree with Mr. Mackenzie King when he suggests that the Dominion Governments still give their advice to the king on international questions through the intermediary of a British Minister, not because there is any special limitation in this respect on their autonomy, but merely because at the present stage of constitutional evolution it is practically convenient for all such advice to pass through a common channel. If an organization like a permanent Commonwealth Secretariat, on an inter-Dominion basis, be established there can be no technical objection to transferring all the royal prerogatives to the Governor-General, as there would no longer be any danger of a clash of policy among the different members of the British Commonwealth. After all, the King or the Governor-General is merely an instrument for formally registering the decisions of the governments concerned. In respect of the prerogative functions in the domestic sphere like that of mercy, or granting titles and honours which have not been delegated to Governors-General it can no longer be held that they are exercised by

¹ Noel Baker, *The Present Juridical Status of the British Dominions in International Law*, p. 225.

the King on the advice of his British Ministers. Even in such matters as declaration of war or making peace the King can no longer act on the advice of the British Ministers alone but there must be a prior joint consultation among his ministers in different parts of the Commonwealth. Prof. Noel Baker is correct in saying that "the non-delegation of certain prerogatives of the crown by the king to his Governors-General has no longer the same meaning which it used to have. It no longer involves subordination of the Dominions." So far as the other functions are concerned, the implication of the Report of 1926 is simply to reduce him to a "rubber stamp" of *the type of the Crown in relation to the Government of the United Kingdom*. We lay special emphasis on the last clause, because it has been suggested that the Crown in home politics is not altogether a cipher, it has great influence if not power, it introduces a personal element of a subtle character into the otherwise dry routine of administration which has a value all its own ; the Crown has rights as well as duties. The authors of the Report intended to clothe the Governor-General with all these attributes, as far as is practicable under the peculiar circumstances of each Dominion, when they remarked that "the Governor-General of a Dominion is the representative of the Crown, holding in all essential respects the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs in the Dominion, etc." He was to be above all party politics local as well as British. Above all he is not to be the mouth-piece of another Government but a valuable although not very forceful adjunct of the Dominion Government. It has been suggested in some quarters that the Governor-General can "never be—even in all essential respects—the equivalent of the king himself." One writer writing in the 'Round Table,' December, 1930, observes: "the feeling of personal loyalty towards the king is something much more than a sentimental

¹ Noel Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

bond. It is an integral part of the political structure of this Empire, and for it, there is no substitute." But we think this is based on a confusion of issues. It has never been suggested that the Governors-General of Dominions must be so many miniature kings ; the point to be noted here is that in the discharge of the functions and duties of his office the Dominion Governor-General should try as far as possible to adopt the attitude of the king in relation to British public affairs. Prof. Keith is quite correct in saying " the exact application of this opinion remains, of course, for the Dominions to determine as they think fit. The amount of authority exercised by the king in the United Kingdom has varied, and must vary, with the personality of the sovereign, his age, experience, and ability and the qualities of the Prime Minister from time to time. The influence of a Governor-General must likewise depend on his personality."¹ But we cannot agree with him when he says in the same work " though the Governor-General has ceased to be an agent of the Imperial Government, his position is still not that of a mere figurehead of a Dominion Government. The constitutions grant to him the office of reserving bills, and the right to give instructions as to reservation is vested in the king advised by the Imperial Government."² As we have already discussed the point we do not propose to reopen it here. The point is, here as in many other questions, the writers of the old Imperialistic School of thinking have not been able to shake off the " Downing Street Complex " and enter into the " Commonwealth spirit." They are shocked at the idea of wholesale sweeping off of all the vestiges of Imperial connection of the Dominions and the institution of Governor-General is one of them.

As regards the role of the Governor-General serving as the official channel of communication the recommendation of

¹ Keith, *The sovereignty of the British Dominions*, p. 246.

² *Ibid*, p. 248.

the Report has already been implemented by three of the Dominions abolishing the Secretariats attached to the Governor-General and by starting of direct correspondence between Government and Government. It is only a question of time and convenience when the others will follow suit. As a corollary to these changes in the position of the Governor-General the question has naturally arisen as to how far the present procedure of appointment of a Governor-General on the recommendation of the Imperial Government is consistent with equality of status and whether it does not constitute a limitation of the autonomy of Dominions. The issue has been seriously raised of late in the Free State and Australia. Great emphasis has been laid on the Crown acting on the recommendation of the Dominion Government concerned in this matter and a point has been scored in Australia by the recent appointment of Sir Issac Issacs, an Australian national, as the Governor-General of Australia. So as an issue of practical politics it has been decided in favour of the Dominions but much smoke has gathered about it in the fire of controversy on the issue. So a dispassionate study of the question is worth the trouble.

Already the Dominion Governments were as a rule consulted before an appointment was made and in one occasion at least the Canadian Government rejected the whole list of candidates submitted by the Imperial Government and put forward a nomination of its own which was accepted by the British Government but of course the formal selection was that of the British Government and not of the Dominion Government. So from the position as settled by the constitutional convention to the formal nomination by Dominion Government without the intermediary of the Government of the United Kingdom is but a small step. It has been said against this innovation that it will lead to the appointment of local politicians who are likely to be unable to rise above party politics and to avoid political pressure. It will militate against the rôle of the Governor-General as bearing the King's person and royal dignity in the Dominions.

Leaving aside the fact that even under the present procedure the appointment of a Dominion national to the post is not out of the question we may simply draw the attention of such critics to the office of the Speaker of the House of Commons to remove from their minds all such apprehensions. Of, course at the beginning of such a practice there may be sporadic cases of abuse of their position but such aberrations are incidental to any innovation and will die out with the growth of a tradition. Moreover logic is perhaps on the side of this innovation. So long as the Governor-General was the representative of the Imperial Government in the Dominion and as such the watch-dog of its interests one could understand the intervention of that Government in the matter of appointment to the office but now that the whole conception of the office has been changed it is time that the old practice should be discarded in favour of one more in consonance with the realities of the situation.

We see no point also in the contention of Professor Keith that the change can be effected only by amendment of the constitution Acts. Far more important and serious changes have come about by the silent growth of conventions and it is difficult to understand why there would be an exception in this case.

So far we have been concerned with the autonomy the Dominions have achieved in their domestic affairs, in inter-Commonwealth relations and its reaction on the position of the Crown. Now we propose very briefly to go into the autonomy they have obtained in external affairs and its effect on the position of the Crown. The same fundamental principles that we have noticed at work in the sphere of domestic affairs also underlie the change in this sphere. The key-elements to the proper understanding of the new situation we find already in the sentence declaring their constitutional status, *viz.*, "equality in status" involving absence of any subordination, "free association," union through "common allegiance to the Crown," "inclusion within the British Empire." We can understand any difficult point relating to their real position in international law

in the light of these principles which constitute, as we have said, the key-elements governing their status both in British constitutional law and in international law. Now a few years back the Dominions hardly had any international status at all or to be more accurate, their international status was not recognised in the constitutional law of the Empire. As late as in 1911 Mr. Asquith declared to the Imperial Conference of that year "the authority of the Government of the United Kingdom in such grave matters as the conduct of foreign policy, the conclusion of treaties, the declaration and maintenance of peace, or the declaration of war, cannot be shared." This was proved to demonstration in the Great War, which was declared without consulting any of the Dominions, though they had "to pay for the tune" alright and heavily too. But the War completely changed the aspect of things; even in its midst responsible Dominion Statesmen were taken into confidence in the "Imperial War Cabinet" in connection with the direction of the policy of the War and since its termination rapid strides have been taken towards giving them a voice in the foreign policy of the Empire as a whole and particularly in the matter of control of their own foreign affairs. To-day they have got a definite international status recognised in British constitutional law as a result of the Report of 1926, and thus the path paved for its recognition by foreign nations, but at the same time it is tempered by their common allegiance to a single Crown and the membership of a single legal and political unit. It is this latter fact that distinguishes them from sovereign independent states, although they have been accorded many of the rights of sovereign independent states in their relations with countries outside the British Commonwealth and have got a distinct place in the family of nations for *certain purposes*. In short, so far as international rights are concerned, the Dominions after 1926 have come to be co-equal with Great Britain in theory at least and are not in any way subordinate to her, although, lacking the necessary equipment as they are or out of sheer inertia or some

such consideration they will depend at present and for a long time to come on Great Britain in conducting their foreign relations. This may look like inferiority in status but is really not so ; because the option is there for them to assume their responsibilities fully on their shoulders at any moment they think convenient. In matters affecting any particular Dominion the governing principle is that the predominant voice is that of the Dominion concerned and not that of His Majesty's Government, in the United Kingdom, although the machinery employed for carrying out a decision may be that of the British Government. We may give here a catalogue of the 'rights,' the Dominions have secured on the recommendation of the Report of 1926. We can do no better here than quote *in extenso* the list given by Prof. Noel Baker in his work already referred to :—

“They include the right of a Dominion to open negotiations on any subject, technical or political, with any foreign power; the right to establish direct diplomatic relations with foreign powers, by setting up its own diplomatic missions in their capitals, and conversely by receiving diplomatic missions from them ; the right to create its own consular services abroad, and to decide whether it will receive foreign consuls on its own territory ; the right to be represented in international conferences of every kind by its own separate delegations; the right to be bound by no international obligation, active or passive, to which it has not itself specifically agreed; the right to appoint its plenipotentiaries to negotiate international treaties on its behalf; the right to sign such treaties through its own plenipotentiaries and to secure their ratification when it so desires.”¹ It is not possible to discuss in detail the implications of each of these rights, so we shall only point out some general considerations arising out of them. It must be noted that in form the diplomatic unity of the Empire is maintained by all executive action in foreign relations of all parts of the Empire being still taken in the name

¹ Noel Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

of the Crown ; thus diplomatic representatives of Great Britain as well as Canada and Ireland are accredited to foreign states by the Crown ; negotiations of treaties whether by Great Britain or other Dominions are started in the name of the Crown, plenipotentiaries are appointed by the Crown, full powers are issued to them by the Crown, signature is affixed to the treaties by such plenipotentiaries on behalf of the Crown, exequaturs are issued to consuls of foreign countries to the Dominions by the Crown and so on. But whereas previously international obligations might be created by the Crown for any Dominions acting simply on the advice of its Ministers in the United Kingdom to-day no such obligation may be imposed on any Dominion except by the Crown acting on the advice of its Government in that Dominion just as no obligation can be imposed on Great Britain by the Crown acting on the advice of a Dominion Cabinet. This necessitates constant consultations prior to any part of the Commonwealth taking action on any matter in which other parts may be interested, but this is as much a limitation on the freedom of Great Britain in the conduct of her foreign relations as on the Dominions. What needs special emphasis is that "free association" has taken the place of "subordination" to one part. The King is the King of Dominions in the same sense that he is the king of the United Kingdom; in the management of foreign affairs of each part of the British Commonwealth he, in co-operation with the Cabinet concerned, constitutes a distinct governmental unit in relation to foreign nations although at the same time he retains his rôle as "the abiding symbol and emblem of the unity of the British Commonwealth of Nations." This sums up the new position of the Crown as the supreme Executive in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The King constitutes, so to say, both jointly as well as severally, the Head of a number of distinct political communities making up the British Commonwealth of Nations—both in domestic as well as external affairs.

To sum up, we may say that the equality of status of the Dominions has been reflected in the constitutional position of the Crown in the Empire in so far as the Crown no longer holds that special relationship with the Government of the United Kingdom—a relationship somewhat distinct from what it was with the Governments of the Dominions. Where the Crown in ruling over the British Empire had to deal with one superior government and a number of subordinate governments it has now come to deal with a number of governments 'equal in status,' although 'not equal in functions.' The last clause explains the apparent inequality between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and his Governments in other parts of the British Commonwealth. But if many matters pertaining to the affairs of a Dominion still come to the cognizance of the Crown through the former, there is this difference that it no longer handles them as a superior authority but more or less as an agent of the Government of the Dominion concerned in the absence of a better arrangement. Whether it will cease to participate even in these matters in future and will deal directly with each Government or through its personal representative, the Governor-General, we can only wait and see.

AKSHOYKUMAR GHOSAL

ROBERT BURNS'S TREATMENT OF THE SUPERNATURAL

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, the predominating note in the treatment of the supernatural in English poetry was that of awe or terror. But Burns's treatment is a refreshing deviation from it, decidedly freer and more imaginative and not tied down to the single emotion of fear.

Burns does not approach the supernatural through the cultured sensibility of Collins and Gray, but through an entirely different kind of sensibility that arises out of his intimate experience of the queerly mixed stuff of life. His genial, kindly, humorous interest in all phases of rustic life,—a predominating interest with the poet, growing not out of mere democratic sympathy, but some kinship of feeling and sentiment,—comprehends those irrational modes of thinking and feeling which sway so largely the unsophisticated folk-mind. In his autobiographical letter to Dr. Moore, the poet confesses that he himself is not wholly above them, and perhaps a secret sympathy with the irrational accounts for the intimate vividness of his treatment alike of the superstitious rites of the Halloween, the witches' dance in Alloway Kirk, the rustic tricks and grave exploits of the Devil, and even the grotesque apparition of Death that arises in a time of pestilence to the drink-dulled eyes of the village apothecary.

The supernatural with Burns is thus not an idea to be approached through romantic legends as with the school of Scott, or through Norse or classical myths and creations of tragic poets as with Collins and Gray, or even through superstitions viewed distantly through an imaginative medium, as was suggested to Home by Collins in his *Ode on the Superstitions of the Highlands*, but a real and instinctive feeling to

be seized in the very complex of human life. To this feeling which appears so noticeably on the surface in minds not overlaid with culture, Burns gives clear and concrete embodiment. He does not seem to dig for it, as poets like Collins and Gray seem to do, but he catches it lightly and easily on the surface.

Realising intimately the variegated woof of the supernatural feeling in the texture of the folk-mind, the poet does not attempt to extricate out of it only the dark-coloured strand of fear, for the woof is of many strands. Amusement, fun, dread, and its opposite, a hail-fellow-well-met sort of familiarity are mixed up with wonderful psychological truth in his treatment of the supernatural, and the odd mixture is mildly tempered with a satirical intention which curiously reminds us that Burns belongs to the rationalistic century. His treatment is in fact so intimately individual as to be inimitable: it seems like something between the happy dallying with the supernatural in *The Mid-summer Night's Dream* and the solemn intercourse with it in later romantic poetry. Southey alone tries to follow him—but at a very great distance—in some of his early ballads and metrical tales.

(i) *Death and Dr. Hornbook* is a most delightfully humorous poem turning on the meeting between a village apothecary and the phantom of Death. The apothecary is drunk and tipsy, and his condition is very happily hit off by his ineffectual efforts to count the horns of the moon:

“ The rising moon began to glower
The distant Cumrock hills out-owre:
To count her horns, wi’ a’ my power,
I set mysel ;
But whether she had three or four,
I couldna tell.”

In this tipsy, devil-may-care condition, the apparition of Death that appears before him agrees well with his rollicking mood. It is the most novel description in the whole range of

English poetry of the phantom of Death which orthodox imagination always invests with the conventional properties of horror. Burns's phantom has nothing of the horrible about it,—it is only an odd, rustic, ludicrous figure, very lightly touched with symbolism, with a scythe dangling over one shoulder and a three-tongued spear over the other, its stature two Scotch ells tall, set off with huge belly and a pair of thin shanks, as sharp and small as 'checks o' branks' (a kind of bridle). After the first shock of 'eerie swither' (uncertain fear) is over, the apothecary bids good evening to the phantom and engages him in conversation. The contrast between the queer personality, pouring out the entertaining tale of his woes from the medical manoeuvres against him of Dr. Hornbook and the solemn manner in which he introduces himself :

" It spak right howe,— ' My name is Death :
But be na flay'd."

strikes the humorous keynote of the piece.

(ii) *Address to the Devil* is a curious mixture of the widely various mediaeval conceptions of the Devil, half pagan and half Christian, which have filtered down into rustic superstition perhaps from more estimable sources. From the funny comic creature of the Miracle Plays and Legendaries to the theological arch-enemy of mankind, the Devil, as is well-known, shifts through different shapes in mediaeval legends. There is no attempt in the poem, as Prof. Elton has noticed, for ' a slowly unified intellectual point of view.' Burns's Devil frightens poor travellers on wintry nights, spoils the milk-churning of country wives, puts mystic knots in the loom-work and plays other rustic pranks, and at the same time lurks unseen ' prying in the human bosom ' and boils damned souls in Hell. But this miscellaneous jumble of ideas is exactly calculated to produce that rollicking sense of incongruity which the poet intends. The exploits of the Devil range through the

Tam o' Shanter's ride with, say, those of Lenore's spectral lover in Bürger's poem, the difference comes out in relief. In Burns's poem there is none of Bürger's laboured evolving of the eerie and gruesome. In the course of the ride, Tam o' Shanter passes several landmarks, each associated with a violent death, but they flash past and do not loom and terrify as in Bürger's poem :

“ By this time he was cross the ford
 Where in the snaw the chapman smoor'd ;
 And past the birks and meikle stane,
 Where drunken Charlie brak's neck-bane ;
 And thro' the whins, and by the cairn,
 Where hunters faud the murder'd bairn ;
 And near the thorn, aboon the well,
 Where Mungo's mither hang'd hersel.”

The haunted Alloway Kirk and the ‘ unco sight ’ it reveals are gruesome in all conscience. The concomitants of the witches and warlocks’ dance are properly enough calculated to thrill. The light in the interior of the church proceeds from coffins standing round, each with a corpse holding a candle in its cold hand, and this unearthly light, the effect of ‘ some devilish cantrip slight,’ reveals the horrors heaped on the holy table,—a murderer’s bones in gibbet irons ; small, two-span long, unchristianed children ; a thief new-cut from the hanging rope, gasping with his last gasp, etc. These horrors however have become so conventionally associated with witchcraft since Shakespeare’s *Macbeth* that they have almost ceased to horrify. But witchcraft would be incomplete without them.

But the conventional horror, if we may so call it, quickly gives place to our interest in its reaction on Tam o' Shanter's mind. He has taken inspiration from ‘ bold John Barleycorn,’ and so, instead of fleeing away, he continues to witness the scene with curiosity and amazement till he distinguishes the ‘ winsome wench and walie ’ in Cuty Shark and in the ecstasy

of drunkenness breaks forth into a cheer. The poem quickly gets into stride and movement again and pursuit quickly begins and as quickly ends on the keystone of the bridge where Maggie the mare has to leave her grey tail in the witch's hand.

Tam o' Shanter is the most completely successful, as it is perhaps the most perfectly concerted, of Burns's poems. The most outstanding charm of the poem is derived from that prevailing quality of Burns's poetry which has been so happily hit off by a contemporary critic of eminence that it will be difficult to improve on his expression. "Everything is seen in movement ; things flash by, or the wind sweeps the voices along. The pace of excited actual existence, jovial or angry or rueful, is given by Burns, as by few other poets." (Elton.) Only it has to be added that the supernatural throws a passing gleam of light athwart this excited hurry of life, and, in the poems reviewed above, invests it with a fascination in which it becomes delicately difficult to distinguish between the earthly interest and the unearthly.

The concentration on the unearthly out of which arises the emotion of terror is decidedly not in Burns's manner. It is perhaps hardly fair to compare so spontaneous a poem as Burns's *Tam o' Shanter* with a work of slow and deliberate art like Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*. But we may observe how often the narrative in Coleridge's poem eddies into thought, going round and round a supernatural incident, while Burns's runs straight on like a rushing current. With the hero of Coleridge's poem, life has slowed down in the illimitable solitude and waste of the distant seas, but with Tam the pace of life is quickened by the exhilaration of drink. Perhaps both poets adhere to psychological truth. In solitude the mind is apt to turn inwards upon itself, as in the current of life it turns outwards and seizes on objects, rather than on subjective moods. The supernatural as perceived by the mind in these different circumstances is likely to appear differently, vague and uncertain in the former, more definite and clear in the latter. The supernatural as it appears

to Burns's hero has certainly all the vigorous concreteness of objective reality and none of Coleridge's 'the upper air burst into life' kind of effect. With Coleridge, as nearly with all English poets, the supernatural feeling is born of and related to solitude ; with Burns it comes with the rush and zest of living experience to which the spirit of Barleycorn adds a noticeable piquancy.

SUKUMAR DUTT

TO THE MOCKING BIRD

What is the secret of your minstrelsy—
You bird of mystery ? Your haunting strains
Take on the tunes of song birds everywhere.
You do not sing by day alone : you send
Forth liquid notes when evening winds sigh in
The pines, and when the mellow moon sends down
Her scintillating dreams on rippling rills.
You send forth trembling notes when on swift wings
You wend toward the silver stars, or when
You rest your tiny feet upon the pale
Pink Rose of Sharon that sends out its sweet
Perfume into the calm and sleeping night.
Your lyric ecstasy re-echoes chimes
Of many songsters ; and you imitate
The plaintiff, whistling cries of whip-poor-wills,
Of carols of the modest meadow larks.
Sometimes you blend the music of your birds
So that your strains are like a symphony ;
Again you send forth snatches of the thrush,
The nightingale, the turtledove, the wren :
Your marvellous melody is heaven-born.

LOUISE A. NELSON

JĀTAKA-GLEANINGS BEARING ON ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE AND CIVILISATION

SOCIOLOGY

I

It has long been admitted ever since their publication that **Jātaka-verses** to **'Jātakas'** which exclusively belong to the form the basis. Buddhists contribute a great deal to the reconstruction of India's past civilisation and being limited by no means to the Buddhist period alone they cover a much earlier time penetrating even into the Vedic. But, recognised as they were so long as exponents of Bodhisattaism, a phase of later Buddhism which arose even long after the composition of Pāli Nikāyas, their importance in the reconstruction of India's past was generally considered to be of secondary character for which they were relegated to the background of canonical studies. With the acknowledgment, however, that originally **'Jātakas'** were nothing but select verses bearing upon some past episodes adopted from ancient **'Akkhānas'**¹ their study ushers in a degree of importance which is definitely its own. As a matter of fact, **Jātakas** now meaning Buddhist selections from versified **Akkhānas**, the state of affairs outlined in them is no longer to be treated as a matter of secondary concern to their authors but of primary importance to them who purposely culled them out from ancient ballads in their primitive simplicity with a view to illustrating and strengthening the doctrine of Karma in early Buddhism.

It has also to be borne in mind that the prose version of the **Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā** is not the version of the old textual stories but marks a considerable divergence from them in most cases as a criticism does from its subject-matter, owing to

¹ "Development of Jataka Vatthu," by the author (C.R., Feb. 1931).

exigencies of circumstances occasioned especially by the creation of a new phase of the religion itself known as Bodhisattvaism or Buddhology. Now, while attempting to reconstruct the past history of India's civilisation scholars have hitherto not been able to steer clear of the later prose by the adoption of which in conjunction with the verse they could not render their efforts in this direction as satisfactory as could be desired, an assertion which undoubtedly gives rise to the very delicate question as to whether or not the entire verse portion of Jātakas of all descriptions belongs to the same period or to periods ranging from the earliest time of their composition till the redaction of the prose in the Aṭṭhakathā.

Although we are not going to enter into the discussion on their respective dates of composition at present, we may rest assured, that for all general purposes allowing only notable exceptions, the verses exhibit throughout a trend of thought which is remarkably consistent and pre-Buddhist. Even the Jātakas of longer verses supposed to be later betray features of a very remote period and prove without doubt that, as a whole, they can be considered very ancient, serving as the basis of later works such as Suttantas, Petavatthu, Vimāna Vatthu, Cariya Piṭaka and others. The prose of the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā contains on the other hand much that is still later, proving thereby that an attempt was made by the Aṭṭhakathā writers to put new wine in old bottles in their desire to read into Jātaka verses an expression of thoughts and beliefs which were current only in their own times.

The following pages do not contemplate giving an account of ancient Indian civilisation on a wider or a more comprehensive scale than that on which it has already been dealt with by scholars in more ways than one from the stories of Jātakas alone. After having observed in previous articles the real nature of Jātakas with regard to their date of origin, form and purpose in contradistinction to opinions commonly held, it becomes naturally interesting to learn what new light they

throw on conditions of ancient Indian society in general under this changed angle of vision.¹ Our present attempt will therefore be directed more towards the fulfilment of what still remains a desideratum than towards enumerating as many aspects of society as can possibly be gathered from them. In our attempt to supply this want while we confine our remarks to the verses only, the scope of our activities is likely to be still more circumscribed but not, we trust, without an interest and originality of its own. Copious quotations in original will be another new feature of this work.

From whatever standpoint we may like to look at it there can be no escape from the fact that in India it was religion which shaped society and politics. Every line of Jātakas bears testimony to this great truth.

Dhammo havo pātur ahosi pubbe
pacchā adhammo udapādi loke (p. 101, IV).

The caste system which was the backbone of society of the Aryans of ancient India, was attributed to Brahmā and the ideas of power and pomp for which kings vied with one another were inspired by the example of Indra. Hence these conceptions must have preceded and caused the formulation of a large number of social rules and royal functions of the land at the time under consideration. With regard to the origin of the caste-system it is stated thus :

Ajjhenam ariyā paṭhavim janindā
vessā kaṣiṃ pāricariyaṃ ca suddā
Upāgu paccekam yathā padesaṃ
Katāhu ete Vasinā ti āhu ti (p. 207, VI).

“ The great Brahmā created the castes so that the Brahmins (Ariyā) took to studies, the Khattriyas became rulers of the land, the Vaisyas settled as cultivators and service was the occupation of the Sudras.”

¹ It has been fully dealt with in the work ‘ Significance of Jātakas ’ by the author.

It becomes apparent then that, without this support from religion in which Brahmā (Vasī) was accepted as the creator, the system of caste in ancient India could not be enforced on the people. In like manner duties and functions of a king had their origin in the lofty example of Indra constantly at war with the Asuras for supremacy and power.

Dhammaṃ care janapade negamesu balesu ca
isayo ca na himseyya puttadāre samaṇ care
Sa tādiso bhumipati raṭṭhapālo akodhano
Sāmante sampakampeti Indo va asurādhipo'ti (p. 243, V.)

“That king who rules over country-people, towns-folk and his forces according to religion, who does not injure the sages and being free from anger behaves towards sons and wives with equanimity, will be a source of perpetual terror to his enemies living at the border even like the Indra, the conqueror of Asuras.”

Thus, the laws of society and the state evolved for the most part out of the main conception of religion long before the advent of Buddha and hence it would not be out of place here to have a brief reference to the pre-Buddhist conception of religion in so far as it is helpful to our understanding at the outset of our entering upon a discussion of the then state of society and politics in the Jātaka gleanings.

Ideal religion of the land was then ‘isihood’ for which every one had great respect and made penance if it was possible of attainment at the close of life.

Bhāsaye jotaye dhammam, paggaṇhe isīnam dhajam
Subhāsitaḍḍhajā isayo dhammo hi isīnam dhajo
(p. 509, V.)

To injure the ‘isis’ in any way was a great sin :

Isīnaṃ antaraṃ katvā Bharurājā ti me sutam
Ucchinno saha raṭṭhena sa rājā vibhavaṃ gato
(p. 172, II.)

Giriṃ nakhena khanasi ayo dantena khādasi
 Jātavedaṃ padahesi yo isim paribhūsati
 (p. 383, IV.)

Of these 'isis' the foremost were the groups of seven and four¹ who as belonging to the first were Yamahanu, Somayāga Manojava, Samudda, Magha, Bharata and Kālikarakkhiya and as belonging to the second were, Angirasa, Kassapa, Kisavaccha and Akitti. These eleven sages of old practised 'tapa' and attained Brahmaloḥa in the end.

Addhā ime avattimsu anāgārā tapassino
 Satt'isayo Yamahanu Somayago Manojavo
 Samuddo Magho Bharato ca isi Kālikarakkhiyo
 Angiraso Kassapo ca Kisavaccho Akitti ca ti
 (p. 99, VI).

By dint of their 'tapassā' these sages of old had transgressed the sphere of sensual universe and had far outstripped those who delighted in liberality even. (Nimi Jātaka No. 541.)

Now, as to the mode of their 'tapassā' we may next observe that it mainly consisted in the rearing of a sacrificial fire in a forest, though, Pali commentators have invariably taken the term in a Buddhistic light meaning self-control. That this 'tapassā' was definitely the worship of fire which not only conferred on its devotee a state of bliss in the next world but also strength, wealth and spiritual calm in the present one, will be evident from the following :

Dhātā Vidhātā Varuṇo Kuvero
 Somo Yamo Candimā y'api Suriyo
 Ete pi yaññaṃ puthuso yajitvā
 Ajjhāyakānam atha sabbakāme
 Vikāsita cāpasatāni pañca
 Yo Ajjuno balavā bhimaseno
 Sahassabāhu asamo pathavyā
 So pi tadā ādahi jātavedaṃ ti (p. 201, VI).

¹ c. f. Gītā, Ch. X, Stanza 6.

“Dhātā, Vidhātā, Varuno, Kubero and the rest had to perform sacrifices before fire to enable themselves to fulfill all the desires of their Brahmin supplicants. Even the very Arjuna with his mighty army and wonderful capacity for shooting arrows in the art of which he had no rival in the world, had to perform oblations before fire.”

The appellations of an ‘Isi’ as ‘Āraññako,’ ‘Cirarattam tapassi,’ ‘Vaddho,’ ‘Bhābitatto,’ ‘Kiso,’ ‘Dhamanisanthato gatto,’ etc., which occur in Jātakas are positive evidence of the fact that he was a recluse who had no place in common society. These ‘isis’ formed ‘assamas’ or hermitages in forests probably as a protection from wild beasts and thought out deep problems for humanity at large.

The ancient Aryans while trying to settle in the open land besought them and as directed by them framed the rules of the state and society.

Men belonging to these societies who assumed more power and bodily virtues posed as kings and resorted to such ‘assamas’ whenever they found themselves beset with troubles to obtain satisfactory solutions of the intricate problems of their administration.

Sighāni yānāni ca yojayantu

Ajj’ eva aham assamaṃ tam gamissam

Yatth’ eva dakkhissam isim nisinnan ti

(p. 395, IV.)

It has been plainly acknowledged in Jātaka No. 462 that these calm sages were the real instructors even of kings, much more of laymen.

Samanā anusāsanti isi dhammaguṇe ratā

(p. 134, IV.)

With their backbone in religion the rules of ancient Indian society evolved in this way out of the thoughts of ‘isis’ who being indirectly their progenitors, these ‘assamas’ verily became the cradle of Indo-Aryan civilisation and culture.

This religious background of the ancient Indian institutions of which the caste-system was the most important perhaps accounts for the fact as to why the thoughtful section of the community was assigned the first rank as Brahmins, the second rank was given to the ruling section, the Khattriya, the cultivators or the Vaisyas were given the third and the remainder of the people who were fond of service and averse to study were classified as Sudras. (Aggañña Suttanta Dīgha Nikāya).¹

“Ajjhāyakam mantagunupapannam
tapassinam yācayogo ti cāha” (p. 204, VI.)

However well imposed through religion the caste system might have been on society, for practical purposes it was mostly inoperative though it was so old as to become hereditary by the time under consideration. As a matter of fact, the castes were far from regularly doing their respective duties said to have been allotted to them by their progenitor Brāhmā. It was found everywhere that all Brahmins were not given to the study of ‘mantras,’ neither were the Khattriya as a class the rulers of land, nor did the Vessas alone cultivate the soil, nor did the Sudras live only by service.

Ādāya satthāni caranti brāhmanā
* * *
na khattiyā jātu labhetha rajjam, etc.” (p. 208, VI.).

Theoretically, a Brahmin was said to be firmly established in religion when he was devoted to studies and to the cult of ‘mantra’ and ‘tapassā.’ He had regularly to rear up a sacrificial fire, sprinkle water and worship at altars.

Niramkatvā aggim ādāya brāhmaṇo
Āpo sijam yajam usseti yupam
evamkaro hoti brāhmaṇo khemi
dhamme ʔhitam tena amāpayimsu ti (p. 302, IV.)

¹ In this Suttanta which is a later development of Akkhānas, the Khattriya are ranked first.

But the assertion made by the Brahmins that only the Brahmins should study 'mantras,' no one except the Vessas should till the ground and the Sudras must never be absolved from servitude, was utterly false.

Na' brāhmaṇo mantapadāni sikkhe
 Nāññatra vessehi kaṣiṃ kareyya
 Suddo na muñce parapessitāya
 Yasmiṃ ca etaṃ vacanaṃ abhūtaṃ
 Musā ca ime odariyā bhaṇanti (p. 208 VI.)

The castes as originally intended being thus found unworkable the faith in their creator thereby was challenged and hotly contested.

taṃ tādisaṃ samkhubbitaṃ vibhinnaṃ
 kasmā Brahmā n' ujjukaroti lokam (p. 208 VI.)

The Brahmins sarcastically called 'odariyas' (lit. fond of eating) were therefore wrong in their assertion that they were descendants of the great Brahmā.

However ill-received their theories might have been
 Position of by the general people, still undoubtedly proud of
 Brahmins. their caste and creed which had then become their
 birth-rights, the Brahmins formed the 'ācariya' or the Guru
 class to which no other caste seems to have made the least claim.

Ācariyo brāhmaṇo mayhaṃ kiccā kiccesu vyāvaṭo
 garu ca āmantaniyo ca dātuṃ arahāmi bhojanaṃ.
 (p. 371, IV.)

Evidently, the Brahmins were the repositories not only of learning in general but of knowledge of everything that was useful (kiccākiccesu vyāvaṭo) for the acquirement of which people thronged to them with offerings of food. The teaching of boys remained for the most part in the hands of these Brahmin 'ācariyas.'

Thus repents in his later days a man not having learnt his lessons before such an 'ācariya.'

ācariyam anusatthāraṃ sabbakāmarasāharam
pitaram accamaññissam iti pacchānutappati (p. 178 IV.).

Though it is referred to more than one hundred times as a full-fledged university in the Jātaka prose Takkasilā as a seat of learning was yet to be. In the Jātaka proper, *i.e.*, in the verse the name of Takkasilā occurs only twice, not as a seat of learning but as the capital of the kingdom of Gandhāra. In the Palāyi Jātaka No. 229 F., Vol. II, p. 217, we are told that Takkasilā itself constituted a kingdom the king of which having fortified himself within its boundaries successfully repulsed an attack of the king of Benares who had besieged it. Secondly, in the Junḥa Jātaka No. 456 F., Vol. IV, P. 98, the mention of Takkasilā occurs definitely in connection with the capital of the kingdom of Gandhāra having nothing to do with educational activities.

Gandhārarājassa puramhi ramme
avasimhase Takkasilāya deva."

The very silence of the Jātaka compilers regarding Takkasilā as a university town is strongly indicative of the fact that its importance as a seat of learning was then unknown and the work of diffusion of knowledge was entirely in the hands of local Brahmins who posed as ācariyas.

The Brahmins however by no means excluded themselves when necessary from enjoying more lucrative occupations such as ministership or any other royal service, even they took to such work as money-lending, etc. It may be noted here that 'Inadāna' or the lending of money was then a very flourishing business which even the minister Vidhura, himself a Brahmin (p. 401, Vol. III), carried on with no loss of prestige. The Dasa Brāhmana Jātaka, No. 495 IV, pp. 361-65, enumerates some of the works taken up by the Brahmins other than teaching. These were :—'Tikicchā'—medicine, 'Paricariyā'—serving, Niggāhakaṃ—oppressing people, Vanijjaṃ—trade, Kasim—cultivation, Ajelakānaṃ posanaṃ—cattle-breeding, Goghātakaṃ—the

slaughtering of cows, Luddakattam—hunting, etc. In fact, every kind of occupation which the Brahmin could conveniently lay his hand on was accepted by him. As an instance of 'Inadāna' being profitably adopted by a Brahmin we may cite here the fact, that before his eventful journey to Nāgaloka with the Yakkha Punnaka, the Brahmin Vidhura made over to his relations among others the office of lending money.

Kammantam samvidhetvāna ācikkhitvā ghare dhanam
nidhiñ ca inadānañ ca Puṇṇakam etad avravi ti.
(p. 301, VI).

The store-house of a Brahmin's knowledge was the Vedas, the study of which was never barren but produced fame and culture giving peace of mind to its votary.

na h' eva vedā aphalā bhavanti
Sasamasyam caranam yeva saccam
kittim hi pappoti adhicca vede
santiṃ pun'eti caranena danto
(Setaketu Jātaka, Vol. III. p. 237.)

Such knowers of the Vedas were silently invoked by devotees for protection in times of danger.

Ye brahmaṇā vedagu sabba dhamme
te me namo te ca maṃ pālayantu (p. 34, Vol. II).

Although the Brahmanical element was unquestionably considered superior to others in society, the Brāhmins as a class were not so influential because of the arrogance displayed by some of them causing the non-Brahmanical section of the community to question their claim to superiority on account of mere accident of birth which bereft of self-control and education was equally dominated by greed, hatred and delusion.

Jātimado ca atimānitā ca
lobho ca doso ca mado ca moho
ete agunā yesu va santi sabbe
te nidha khettāni apesalāni (p. 381, IV).

For entertaining too much pride in themselves in respect of their caste the Brahmins not seldom were put to great hardship by inhuman beings such as 'Yakshas,' 'Nagas' (J. No. 497, IV, and J. 543, VI). The ideal life was indeed the life of a saint free from lust, hatred and delusion.

Yesam rāgo ca doso ca avijjū ca virājitā
khināsavā arahanto tesu dinnam mahapphalam (p. 387, IV).

The highest profession undoubtedly being that of 'ācariyas' or spiritual teachers, the lowest was that of slaves or 'dāsas' who had lost their independence. Now, as to the signification of the term 'dāsa' it must be noted that it was quite capable of being applied to castes other than the Sudras so long as the members of any were found engaged in the service even of a king in any capacity.

Slaves not
forming any
caste.

In his statement to Puṇṇaka the Yakkha with reference to his own status as the minister of king Dhananjaya, the Pandit Vidhura explained the meaning of the term 'dāsa' as follows :

“ Āmāyadāsūpi bhavanti h' eke
Dhanakitā pi bhavanti dāsā
Sayam pi h' eke upayanti dāsā
Bhāyāpanuṇṇā pi bhavanti dāsā ” (p. 285, VI).

Some people became slaves by virtue of being born of slaves, some became slaves being sold as such, some undertook to become slaves of their own accord and some through fear, while the Pandit having inherited his post from his father considered himself a slave by birth :

Ete narānam caturo ca dāsū
Addhā hi yonito aham pi jato.” (p. 285, VI).

No matter in whatever way they were obtained, the 'dāsas' were never subjected to impolite or harsh treatment and most of them even enjoyed equal privileges with the members of the family they lived in. They were afforded sufficient facilities to practise piety for the attainment of heaven in a family that had

any desire to live righteously. Thus replied Mahā Dhammapāla to a query as to why there was no case of premature death in his family :

Dāsū ca dasso anujivino ca
paricārikā kammakarū ca sabbe
dhammaṃ caranti paraloka hetu
tasmaṃ ti aṇham daharā na miyare ti '' (pp. 53-54, IV).

“ None of our family die early as all of us including our slaves, dependants, servants and other workers, both male and female, practise piety for the next world.”

In fact, the idea of oneness is found running through people of all castes even through that which was considered to be the lowest, viz., the Chandalas or Pakkusas who lived outside the village and disposed of the dead. They were never despised for their occupation however low it might be as wrongly stated to have been the case by Dr. Rhys Davids on page 55 in his ‘ Buddhist India.’ Were the fact so the following lines would never have occurred in the Jātakas :

Place of Chan-
dālas—the
lowest caste.

Khattiyā brahmaṇū vessū suddā caṇḍāla pakkusū
idha dhammam caritvāna bhavanti tīdive samā

(p. 194, III).¹

“ The Khattriyas, Brahmins, Vessas, Sudras and Chandalas or Pakkusas all by practising Dharma in this world become equals in heaven.”

Apart from the guilds such as goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, potters, architects, sculptors, painters, shoemakers (rathakāra), etc., the principle occupation appears to have been trade and cultivation. Inland trade was carried on from kingdom to kingdom by caravans moving along well-known routes lying across deserts (Apañṇaka Jātaka No. 1) and the sea-borne by merchant-men visiting the sea-coasts of India and adjacent countries such as Burma, Ceylon, Arabia, Persia as far westwards as Syria and Babylon. We are also told of an adventure though it

¹ Note also :—p. 205 and p. 303 in Vol. IV, and C.f. gāthā No. 187, p. 423, IV.

proved disastrous through a very big ocean probably the Pacific, undertaken by the sailors of Bharukaccha (Baroach) :

Mahābhayo bhiṃsanako samuddo suyyat' amānuso
Yathā sobho papāto ca samuddo paṭidissati'' (p. 141, IV.)

The cult of medicine to which Brahmins not infrequently devoted themselves with credit was also a very important profession (p. 361, IV, J. 495). It consisted not only in the knowledge of various drugs but also in the utterance of 'mantras' the efficacy of which in curing diseases was widely acknowledged and tried with success.

Na mantā mulā bhesajjā osadhepi dhanena va
Sakkā ānayitum kaṇha yam petam anusocasi ti'' (p. 86, IV.)

The experiment was only unsuccessful in the case of the diseased having already expired.

Thus in ancient India when Jātakas were composed caste was seldom an index of avocation. Brahmins lived by whatsoever profession they could secure without difficulty, the Khattriyaś not being as a rule the ruling chiefs of the land undoubtedly followed in the footsteps of the Brahmins. The Vessas lived by occupations meant for other castes and the Suddras were all not necessarily servants. A Rishi of great power and reputation was found among the Chandalas and the most redoubtable Brahmin did not hesitate to honour him and partake of the leavings of food he had eaten. (Jataka No. 497.) The several avocations of life such as trade, cultivation, money-lending, hunting, etc., were practically interchangeable as will appear from the following :—

Kasi vanijjā iṇadānam uñchacariyāya luddaka
eteḥi dāraṃ posehi mā pūpaṃ akaraṃ punan'ti'' (p. 422, IV.)

A king who was naturally the head of society while requesting a fowler to change his mode of living openly said, "O fowler support your family by either cultivation or trade or money-lending or by living at random and not by hunting."

The criterion by which people, high and low, were judged was merit. Treatment must be given to a person according to his desert and if no such discriminating test was maintained in society the wise must quit the place immediately.

Nāyam Neru vibhajati hīnamukkaṭṭhamajjhime
avisesa karo Neru, handa Neruṃ jahāmase''

(p. 248, III.)

“ This mount Neru does not distinguish between the high, the middle and the low in merit. As it behaves equally towards all we must leave it directly.”

GOKULDAS DE.

BANKS IN RELATION TO INDUSTRIAL FINANCING

PART I

I

The question of the relations of the banks to industry is now looming large in the public eye. Ever since Mr. Thomas in his famous speech to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce intimated that the whole forces of British finance were prepared to stand behind industry in a forward move, a controversy has been raging in England whether the traditional attitude of the British banks towards industry should be modified and brought into conformity with the practice prevalent in the Continent. An important committee is at the present moment investigating there, under the chairmanship of Lord Macmillan, this thorny question of the relationship of Finance and Industry.¹ In India also the Banking Enquiry Committee which is examining the entire structure of the banking system of the country is engaged in the same investigation. One of the main objects of the Committee is to inquire into the present position of financial facilities for India's main and small industries and to consider how far the banks have assisted them. In the mass of evidence that has been tendered before the Central and Provincial Committees, the main charge against the Indian banks has been that they are reluctant to finance the industries. The present facilities of industrial credit in India fall far short of the actual requirements. Banks, it has been urged, do not as a rule grant credit facilities to industry for capital expenditure; and in many instances, industry has looked to them in vain for current finance.

It has almost universally been suggested that the solution for the problem of industrial finance lies in the establishment of a network of "industrial banks" all over India. The necessity

¹ Since the above was written, the report has been published.

for the correlation between Indian banking and Indian industry was emphasised for the first time by the Indian Industrial Commission ; and ever since they recommended the establishment of “ industrial banks ” to provide financial assistance to Indian industries,¹ the theme has been a favourite one. The External Capital Committee followed closely the Industrial Commission in the suggestion for starting such banks, and at the present moment witness after witness has stressed before the Banking Enquiry Committee the desirability of the establishment of such institutions. “ Industrial banks ” is now the slogan and it is believed that they will bring about the industrial regeneration of the country in the near future. There seems to be a great deal of misconception as to the nature and functions of such banks. It is often believed that such banks are specialist institutions granting long-term credit to industry. But if by industrial banks is meant a type of banks established to advance long-term loans to industry and working individually, such banks are not in existence in Europe which is the home of industrial banking. The few experiments which were made in that direction ended disastrously. For instance, the ‘ Central Bank of the German Industry ’ which was founded in 1923 by different German state and private banks to finance industrial undertakings is now in liquidation.² The object was to issue bonds to the extent of ten times its capital and to advance loans to industrial undertakings against mortgage. The big German banks were against the idea from the very beginning.

Every organised industry requires two kinds of finance, fixed or block capital and floating capital or short-term accommodation for its day to day needs. The former includes not only the long and large loans which are required for the inception of a new industry but also the funds which an old concern requires to extend and reorganise itself, to remove old plant, much of

¹ Industrial Commission Report, paras. 291 and 292.

² Dr. Niményi's Memorandum before the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee.

which may have become obsolete and refit with the best appliances, and lastly to take prompt advantage of new processes and discoveries. The very life-blood of industrial growth lies in the systematic and orderly supply of this long-term finance. It is impossible to visualise any healthy and rapid development of the Indian industries in the absence of an agency to cater for their long-term financial needs. Without seeking to minimise the importance of other factors in the industrial expansion of the country, we can confidently assert that any programme of its industrial regeneration must primarily include a well ordered scheme of financial assistance to the industries. At the present moment when we are seeking to discover the most efficient methods of financing industry in India, a study of the methods pursued by the banks in other countries may be of great value. The object of this paper is to throw some light on the technique of "industrial banking."

II

Banking policy with regard to industrial financing has been widely divergent in England and the Continent. It is contrary to established banking practice in England to finance industry with more or less permanent capital. The English joint-stock banks have always been willing to provide money for the current needs of industry. But it has never been their policy to find the permanent funds required by industries for capital expenditure. Thus short loans in the form of an overdraft or in the form of a separate loan account are regularly made by the English banks. But capital required for any length of time must not be sought with the joint-stock banks. They receive short-time deposits and they consider that their first responsibility is to the depositors. Their watchword is safety and liquidity. As a rule, they will not engage in any transactions which will involve a "lock-up" of their resources. Thus the English banking community stands aloof from the

industries which are left to their own resources or at the mercies of the company promoter who is not often mindful of the general welfare of the business and is concerned with the success of the issue.

In marked contrast with this attitude of the British banks to industry, we find a close collaboration of banks and industry in the Continent. The continental banks have devoted a considerable part of their activities to the promotion and financing of industrial undertakings. They have not only provided the finance for the current needs of industry but have also taken upon themselves the task of finding the long-term capital for it. They take a keen interest in the industries they finance. They stand by them as they pass through the processes of economic life, keeping a permanent watch over them, helping them always and at the same time profiting from them. The economic development of the continental countries, and particularly of Germany, has been to a great extent due to this close alliance between the banks and industry. The splendid results in each case, as Herr Schuster of the Dresdner bank put it, may be credited to the banks rather than to any other agency.

The master country for a study of the methods of financing industry is Germany. It is there that "industrial banking" has reached its greatest development.—The German banks are the best type of continental banks; and the highly organised and efficient system of industrial credit that has been evolved there is without any parallel in other countries. We must therefore begin with a study of the German system.

Although industrial banking reached its greatest development in Germany, its rudiments are to be found on the French soil. The "credit mobilier" of France was the fore-runner of all later industrial banking. The close co-operation of the great German banks with industry and their company-floating activities are to be attributed to the influence of this French institution,¹

¹ Clapham, "Economic Development of France and Germany," p. 383.

It was founded in November 1852 by Isaac Pereire and his brother with a capital of 60,000,000 francs. The object was to control and promote industrial and joint-stock enterprises. It was at once a company promoter of industry, a financing institution, an issue house and a bank for borrowing and lending. The aim was fixed too high for it had intended to achieve an economic transformation of the whole country on a grand scale. Its mistakes and faults, however, led to its speedy downfall. The distribution of such excessive dividends as over 40% in 1855 injured its own interests. Again, the deposits of the railway companies which it had formed were invested in various industrial securities and railway shares and even in its own subsidiary companies. This led to the complete immobilisation of its share capital and the inevitable crash came in 1867. But in spite of its errors, "the services which it rendered to the economic progress of France were incontestable."¹ "It helped to float and finance railways, to extend the harbours and gas company at Marseilles and to create the transatlantic shipping company."² The industrial expansion of France during the period in question was not a little due to the initiative of the 'credit mobilier.'

The 'credit mobilier' of France, the earliest example of the continental type of banking, served as a model for banks in several other European countries in the years that followed immediately. Thus modelled closely on its lines were established the Bank Für Handel und Industrie of Germany in 1853, the Oesterreichische Kredit-an-stalt of Vienna in 1855 and the Schweizerische Kreditan-stalt of Zurich in 1856.

III

The rise of the German joint stock-banks has gone hand in hand with the economic development of the country. Before

¹ Riesser, "The German Great Banks and their Concentration."
Clapham, *op. cit.*, sec. 87.

1830 there was scarcely any trace of industrialism. It is from about the middle of the nineteenth century that we meet with the first awakening of German industries. Rapid changes were taking place about that time in Germany. The whole system of communication was revolutionised by the use of railways; several of her industrial branches were transformed; and by means of the Zollverein, unification was achieved in the economic territory. All this paved the way for the expansion of German industry and gave a great impetus to large-scale production. The joint-stock company is eminently suited for large-scale trade and industry and hence the rise of joint-stock enterprise in Germany also dates from this period.

This rapid economic expansion created a new and enormous demand for capital and credits of all descriptions. The funds of the general public were too meagre to meet this demand. Even in the case of those who had the necessary funds, they were neither willing nor fitted to become progressive entrepreneurs; nor would they trust their funds to those who had the requisite qualities. Hence there was a place for an agency which would secure the confidence of the public and use this confidence to divert their capital to sound industrial undertakings. The existing financial organs were ill adapted for this task. The banking system of the country consisted mainly of the small private banks, the note-issuing banks, the great bankers of the Rothschild type and some other banks of intermediate standing. Industry could not expect assistance from any of these. The private bankers advanced funds but not for a long period and never on a large-scale. The resources of the note-issuing banks were not suitable for long-term investments. The other great bankers of the Rothschild type stood aloof from struggling business concerns and were engaged in financing governments.

There was thus a serious gap in the financial system. The position and means of the existing credit agencies were not at all equal for the growing needs of commerce and industry. The German credit banks were formed to fill this vacant place. These

banks from the very beginning were banks for loans to industry and played an important rôle in the industrial development of the country. The first joint-stock bank was the Schaafhausen'scher Bank Verein of Cologne formed in 1848 by a statute of the Prussian Government to save an old Cologne banking firm from bankruptcy and liquidation. From the very start the firm invested heavily in shares of various companies, mortgages and industrial enterprises, although the statute precluded it from indulging in any kind of speculative activity outside the sphere of proper banking business. Within a few years of its establishment, it financed several mining and metallurgical undertakings in the Rhineland and Westphalia. In 1853 was established the Bank Für Handel und Industrie with a capital of 42,936,000 marks. It was modelled on the 'Credit Mobilier' of France; and one of its co-founders, Abraham Oppenheim, was a founder of the 'Credit Mobilier.' The bank was empowered "to participate in the promotion of new companies, the amalgamation and consolidation of different companies and the transformation of industrial undertakings into joint-stock form; and also to issue and take over for its account the shares and debentures of such newly created companies."¹ It contemplated from the very start to promote solid and large-scale undertakings through the investment of its own and outside funds. Its object also was to establish organs at home and abroad which would act as intermediaries between import and export trade and form a link between German industry and the money market.² In the first year of its existence it was responsible for the development of German and foreign railways. It took over shares of the Austrian state railway, purchased the entire Brunswick railway system and held preference shares in the Cologne-Minden railway. It also influenced the growth of many engineering and textile industries

¹ Art. III-K of the original statute.

² Speech of the Chairman of the Bank at the first general meeting of its share-holders May 22, 1854.

in the south of Germany and took part in the flotation of many German and Austrian loans.¹ The present Darmstadter und National Bank has grown out of the former Bank für Handel und Industrie and the National Bank für Dantzkh Deutschland. The interest and activity that were shown in the industrial field in the beginning have been maintained till the present day. It is now a very powerful institution with affiliated banks in foreign lands and branches all over Germany. With these extensive interests it has been able to identify itself with the demands of German industry and to-day its chief importance lies in the industrial sphere. This has been highly strengthened by the successes of recent years such as the reorganisation of the Stinnes Konzern and shipping combinations.²

A number of other banks were established about the time following the model of the Bank für Handel und Industrie more or less closely. Of these the more important were the Disconto Gessellschaft, the Berliner Handels Gessellschaft and the Mittel deutsche credit bank. The Disconto was established in 1851 with a capital of 30 million marks and was changed into a limited liability company in 1856. Like the Bank for Industry and Trade at Darmstadt, it participated in numerous railway transactions. It became connected with the Silesian Railway Company, the Alsenez Railway, the Rhine Nahe Railway, etc. Besides railways, it also engaged in the development of salt-pits, mines and iron works as well as secondary banks and insurance companies.³ The well-known United Steel Works and the Hamburg American line are only two of its many present-day industrial interests.

The alliance of the banks with industry became closer and closer with the progressive industrial advance of the country. It is from the seventies of the last century that the industrial development of Germany vigorously set in; and it is from that

¹ Rieser, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-86.

² "Foreign Banking Systems," edited by Parker Willis and B. H. Beckhart.

³ Hauser, "Germany's Commercial Grip of the World."

date also that the great banks have been organised. The victory of 1871, the payment of the French indemnity, the complete achievement of national unification, the liberal reforms in the Company Law—all these opened out vast and new possibilities of German enterprises. The banks as ever generously responded to the demands made upon them by trade and industry and allied themselves firmly with them. It has been truly observed that "the very rapid rise of Imperial Germany in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the 20th was very greatly assisted by the highly organised banking system."¹ Among the numerous credit banks which were established during this period, the first place must be given to the Deutsche Bank founded in Berlin in February 1870 with a capital of 15 million marks. It assumed in the years following 1870 the leading pioneer rôle which had previously been played by the Bank für Handel und Industrie. It had held aloof during the earlier years from industrial promotions, but later played an active part in the flotation of companies with the other credit banks. It became connected with a large number of industrial undertakings. Among the industrial interests of the bank may be mentioned the Siemens Konzern, the Norddeutscher Lloyd, the Phoenix A.G. and so on.² Another famous bank to be started about this time was the Dresdner Bank of 1872. Its centre was shifted from Dresden to Berlin in 1881 and it rapidly developed into one of the leading banks of Germany.

IV

The outstanding feature of the German banks in the earlier period was that they carried on their business with their own capital resources and were not dependent upon deposits from the public. The balance sheets of 14 joint-stock banks in 1857 showed a total of 296 million marks of which not less than 205 millions were represented by the money of the share-holders,

¹ Le Cheminant, "Colonial and Foreign Banking Systems."

² Willis and Beckhart, "Foreign Banking Systems."

and only 57 millions by deposits and acceptances.¹ The ordinary banking business of receiving deposits and making short term loans from these deposits was considered by them merely as a side line. The main business consisted in investing the share-holders' money in industrial and commercial enterprises, the object being to reap as large a profit as possible for the share-holders. They invested a large proportion of their resources in industrial enterprises. These banks therefore partook more of the character of investment trust companies than of banks properly so called.² The relations between the bank and industry assumed a new aspect in Germany when the banks began the systematic fostering of deposit business from the early nineties. The lead was taken by the Deutsche Bank; and the other banks soon followed it in attracting deposits by offering more liberal terms and by making them in favour of the traders and manufacturers. The enormous growth of bank deposits may be seen from the following figures. The deposits (including current account balances) of all banks rose from 1392-18 million marks in 1889 to 9641-59 millions in 1913 of which 5148-63 millions were held by 9 Berlin banks.³ Dr. Riesser also gives some figures to illustrate the growth of deposits in the case of the four 'D' banks. Thus the position in the two periods was as follows⁴ :—

Bank.	Year.	Deposits.
I. Deutsche	1871	8 million marks.
	1908	489 " "
II. Dresdner	1875	2·8 " "
	1908	224·5 " "
III. Disconto	1871	14·8 " "
	1908	218·5 " "
IV. Darmstadter	1870	16·1 " "
	1908	108·1 " "

¹ "Banks and Industry in Germany" S. G. Feodossief; an article in *Banker's Magazine*, June, 1930.

² Mr. Feodossief in "Banker's Magazine," June, 1930.

³ P. B. Whale, *Joint Stock Banking in Germany* (1930), p. 23.

⁴ Riesser, *op. cit.*

The resources of the banks which till the eighties had been confined to their own capital and reserves, came now to consist of other people's money in the form of more or less short-term deposits. The rapid economic development of Germany during this period necessitated the provision of finance for the growing requirements of trade and manufacturing concerns. With the increase in the deposits, the banks became able to extend more credit to these. Thus a considerable part of the constantly growing volume of deposits came to be used by them for assisting the development of industries in which they were interested as promoters, share-holders and debenture-holders. The banks now became deposit banks in the true sense of the word but they retained their original character of investment trust companies. From this time the banks acquired the distinctive features—they combined the investment trust business of the former period with the deposit business of this period. Their business thus became "mixed" and varied. In addition to the business of an English joint-stock bank it included now the functions which are regarded in England as properly belonging to company promoters, issuing houses, underwriters, merchant bankers, discount houses and even stock brokers. In the beginning it had seemed that the banks were going to divide themselves into two classes: the investment trust companies and banks properly so called; or as in France into "*banques d'affaires*" and "*banques de dépôts*," the former of which specialised chiefly in investment business and the latter carried on the ordinary transactions of a bank, properly speaking. But this did not happen. All banks came to possess in common the characteristics of "mixed banks" carrying on diverse functions. Even the Deutsche Bank which had purposed to keep itself aloof from company promotion business gradually shook off its attitude of indifference towards industrial financing and adopted the industrial policy of other credit banks.

V

We shall now proceed to give an outline of the technique of "Industrial banking" in Germany. It has been truly observed that the banks attend an industry from its very birth to death, from its formation to liquidation.¹ The origin of this intimate connection with industry usually arises in the following manner. A business expert having the plans of a new industrial undertaking approaches the bank and presents his case before the managing director. The managing directors and their secretaries carry out the industrial activities of the banks which have no separate industrial departments. If the first impression is favourable, the details of the proposition are referred for careful examination to the expert technical staff of the bank. In case the result of the examination is favourable, the bank will open for its customer a "current account." Credits, at first short, become gradually longer and longer until they amount to partnerships. From the moment the current account relation begins, the bank closely follows the interests of its clients' business. If it sees that its client has the value which it has attributed to him, it renews and increases his credit from year to year, always insisting on the production of books and accounts.

This current account is not the same as the English cheque account. A current account relation in Germany is said to exist between the bank and its client "when money-claims arise on both sides and these claims are not settled individually but are treated as items in an account of which the balance is struck periodically. Once this balance is determined the several debts on each side are considered to be settled and there emerges in their place one claim and

one (equal) debt.”¹ Interest is reckoned on both sides of the account. Before the War, the customers were charged interest at 1% above Bank rate when they were in debit; and they were allowed interest at 1 to 1½% below Bank rate when they were in credit. The average German firms have to depend on current account advances not only for the provision of working capital but also for the extension of permanent equipment (such as construction of buildings and acquisition of machinery) in anticipation of recourse to the investment market. These current accounts represent a large portion of the total assets of the banks and in 1910 the total sum due on that account in the case of eight Berlin banks was about 41% of their entire assets.² A considerable portion of these debts to industry on current account are of a long-term character and have not been regarded by Dr. Riesser and others as liquid assets.

The opening of the current account is but the first link in the long chain of transactions between banks and industry. It is the first step and as occasion arises capital transactions,—conversion into a joint stock company, issues of bonds and shares, direct participation, co-operation in management all these follow closely one after another. The industrial current account is thus as Dr. Jiedels remarks, the pivot of all transactions between banks and industry.³

Thus the connexion begun in the current account relation leads to subsequent and closer relationships. Preparations are gradually started to float a limited liability company. The usual method of promotion is what is called in Germany the “Simultaneous method” in which the promoters themselves take over the entire capital in the first instance. The huge blocks of shares which the banks, as promoters, acquire in the time of promotion are then “unloaded” among the investing

¹ P. B. Whale, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

² Banker's Magazine, June, 1930.

³ Quoted by P. B. Whale, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

public in several ways. They may be offered for sale at a fixed price or may be introduced to one or two bourses without inviting subscription. In the case of new securities that come into being when the capital of existing establishments is increased, the banks follow the same method.

“The business of industrial securities is the keystone of the vast structure of the industrial relations between banks and industry whose foundation is the current account business.”¹ This issue business is generally carried out by what is called in Germany a “Syndicate” or “Konsortium.” Several banks make themselves responsible for the issue collectively and they come together for that purpose into an association which is called a “Konsortium.” Each member of the Konsortium has a certain quota and is expected in the case of the syndicate credit to advance a proportional amount. Most really large and long credits are granted by the syndicate as a whole; the majority of the current advances are made by the banks individually.² One of the members of the banking syndicate is chosen as the “director” (Leiter) of the common transaction. The shares are not divided among the members but remain in the custody of the (Director) bank until they are sold out to the public. The syndicate is generally formed for a certain period, and on its termination the total profit or loss and any remaining securities are shared among the members in proportion to the participation which they have accepted in the issue. This method of creating syndicate is remarkable for reducing the risk borne by a single bank by its distribution among a number of banks.

The principal members of the banking syndicate are represented as a rule on the “supervising council” of industrial enterprises. In addition to the appointment of directors, the banks sometimes appoint one of their employees as Departmental

¹ Riesser, *op. cit.*

² “The Economist,” March 15, 1930, pp. 572-73.

Manager, Secretary, Accountant or Engineer to the newly connected industry.¹ By these means the banks exercise a controlling influence over the industries connected with them. They can exert enormous pressure on the policy of their customers through the financial power. In several cases, they have been known to achieve their ends by threatening to recall credit already granted and to refuse its renewal. They also, to a great extent, control the policy of the associated industries through considerable voting rights obtained as the result of large holdings of shares. Not only do the members of the bank directorate sit on the supervisory board of industrial enterprises, but captains of industries are often invited to take seats on the bank Aufsichträte. This exchange of representatives is an important link between banks and industry. The bond between them is strengthened and thereafter they are joined together for "better or worse."²

This exchange of representatives has often been described as an "interlocking of directorates."³ But in view of the peculiar functions of the German Aufsichträte, it will not be quite correct to say so. Their functions are not quite the same as those of an English "Board of Directors." It does not possess any executive functions. Its functions are only consultative and supervisory. It is not concerned with the management of the Company's affairs which is entrusted to the executive. The supervisory council is required to endorse the annual reports and accounts. It demands information on the conduct of the Company's business; it receives confidential reports; and as a rule it approves important financial transactions. In practice the articles of the company confer upon the supervisory council more extensive powers than the law allows it. In many instances the decisions of the Executive are required to receive its concurrence. Although the council may thus approximate

¹ Dr. Nimenyi, *op. cit.*

² Riesser, *op. cit.* pp. 366-67.

³ Walter Leaf, "Banking," p. 159.

the English Board of Directors to a greater extent, yet it will be misleading to say that industrialists sitting on Bank Aufsichträte are bank directors and *vice versa*.

From the data collected by Dr. Riesser we are able to form an idea of the extensive representation of the banks on the supervisory council of industrial concerns and of the variety of business in which they are interested. The Deutsche for example in 1911, had seats on the supervisory boards of 159 companies, the Schaaffhausen'scher Bankverein on those of 148, the Disconts on those of 143, the Darmstadter on those of 132, the Dresdner of 120, and the Berliner Handels Gesellschaft of 123.¹ Some of them were participating in mining and metallurgical industries, others in textile industries and a few others in iron and steel. Some were controlling railway companies, others were establishing waterworks and a few others were engaged in electrical enterprises. Sir R. H. Palgrave thus eloquently speaks of them: "Among them there is one which controls mines at Bochum, a place which is in the centre of the iron industries of Germany; another carries on a factory for working in cast steel, the business of another is to establish waterworks on the continent of Europe; another works mineral oils, another salt works and salt baths; some undertake mines and smelting works, others work in aluminium, others in copper and brass and in making metal screws." ²

The banks have not only provided financial assistance to new industries, but they have also generously stood by old established enterprises when their management has been unsatisfactory or when they have been in need of funds for improvements, extensions and reorganisations. They have ministered to their ailments, nursed them back to health and brought them to the profit-earning stage. To secure the necessary funds here also the banks have issued shares and

¹ Riesser, *op. cit.*, pp. 651-72.

Article by Sir R. H. Palgrave in "Banker's Magazine," June, 1916, p. 873.

debentures and sold them to the investing public. The issue of shares has been generally preferred for financing permanent improvements. When capital has been required for improvements of considerable duration but yet terminating after the lapse of a certain time, the banks have raised it by issuing bonds redeemable by amortisation within a fixed period. Thus debenture bonds have been issued and sold to capitalists when comparatively long-term loans have been required for an extension or renewal of machinery. An idea may be formed of the immense amount of securities and debentures issued by the banks from the following figures. The actual capital raised in 1908 by issuing shares was 560 million marks and by issuing bonds was 314 million marks.

The foregoing analysis of the technique of industrial banking in Germany clearly brings out the functions which the banks perform in the investment market. They do not use their short-term deposits for long-term loans. They grant short-term as well as long-term loans; but the short-term deposits are, as a rule, used for the short-term loans. Credits for long periods are generally raised by issuing shares and debentures and selling them to the investing public. They take up the shares and debentures in the first instance and often keep the purchased securities in their portfolios for considerable periods of time before attempting their sale. But they do not generally hold them permanently and ultimately dispose of them among the public. Lasting participation has never been their policy with regard to industrial enterprises, at least in the modern period. They may have been forced to this position when an issue has proved unsuccessful or when they have had to buy back their own issues to maintain their price. Generally speaking, their functions have been precisely like those of middlemen in the investment market.¹

The banks finance the industries not simply by issuing shares and debentures but in several other ways. Every way of allowing credits has been used for this purpose. It has already been pointed out that German industries have been dependent to a great extent upon current account advances not only to provide themselves with working funds but also for the extension of their permanent equipment, in anticipation of recourse to the investment market. They have often obtained long-term funds by discounting their bills with the banks. Acceptance credits have also been utilised for the purpose of obtaining fixed capital. In addition to these various ways of allowing credits, loans have been usually advanced against the security of goods which are stored in the big ware-houses of the banks.

In recent times the banks have helped the industries in another aspect. When industries were suffering from scarcity of long-term capital during the years after stabilization, the banks sought to provide relief by mediating loans from abroad. They have often raised long-term loans abroad in their own names and re-lent the proceeds to home industries. In September 1927 we find the Deutsche Bank with the assistance of Dillon Read and Co., raising in New York a five-year loan of 25 million dollars with the purpose of re-lending the proceeds to medium-sized industrial concerns at home for a similar term.¹ Shortly afterwards the Commerz und Privat Bank raised a ten-year loan of 20 million dollars through the Chase National Bank for the same object.² Latterly this policy has been considered as confusing the functions of a bank and an investment company. The banks therefore have begun to establish in conjunction with foreign financiers special investment companies to raise money abroad. Thus the "General Mortgage and Credit Corporation" was promoted in 1928 by the Commerz und Privat Bank working with the Chase National Bank as before.

¹ Willis and Beckhart, *op. cit.*

² P. B. Whale, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

In 1929 a larger investment trust called "The United States and Overseas Corporation," was formed by the Deutsche Bank and Harris Forbes and Co. of New York.

(To be continued.)

SAROJ KUMAR BASU

SPRING-SONG

'Tis not in petals of the rose
Alone the blush is seen,
The bashful leaf-veiled violet glows
A purple-robed queen ;
The blood in my own pulses flows
To beat of tambourine ;
While saffron-mantled Spring
On sunlight-swing
Doth sing, sing, sing.

To flame her breath has touched the sky,
To nectar turned the dew ;
And in my heart her body's sigh
Has left a sigh for You !
'Tis festival of youth,—come nigh,
Let heart greet heart anew,—
While saffron-mantled Spring
On sunlight-swing
Doth sing, sing, sing.

A youth-intoxicated breeze
Has caught my heart—a leaf,
And whirls it in mad ecstasies
Of joy : 'twill come to grief.
Love, save my heart, I'll give as fees
Of songs a golden sheaf,—
While saffron-mantled Spring
On sunlight-swing
Doth sing, sing, sing.

Once let my trembling lips touch thine,
Once to my tingling soul
Hold thee—I will not spill the wine
Of kisses from that bowl !
That touch will thrill, will make divine,
Thy smile shed gloriolate—
While saffron-mantled Spring
On sunlight-swing
Doth sing, sing, sing.

THE FOUNDERS OF VEDIC IDEALISM

Emerson says in his *Nature* that one who does not understand Idealism may take it for granted that he is incapable of understanding Philosophy. We may add that such a person is incapable of realising higher religion also and must content himself with mere popular religion. Idealism may or may not be accepted, but the argument by which things are affirmed to be identical with thoughts must be understood if one is to decide between the rival claims of Realism and Idealism. Even such a sceptical thinker as Bertrand Russell says that he cannot answer Berkeley, the only Idealist he understands and admires, but nevertheless believes in things non-mental though on grounds no better than Samuel Johnson's, who kicked against the floor he was seated on and said, "This is matter." However, the relation of Idealism to higher religion is this, that as in Idealistic thought, so in the higher experience of the religious life, man and nature are seen in necessary and indissoluble relation to God. Popular religion sets down such an experience as mystical and thus practically denies it any place in normal religious exercises and endeavours. Philosophical religion sees its place in Reason and makes it a part of daily spiritual endeavour. The present writer, as he has often said, got his first idea of philosophical religion from Western writers, and latterly studied and appreciated Indian Idealism in the light of the Critical and the Dialectical method. These methods he regards as higher than any to be found in our native philosophy, but our philosophers, specially our rishis and ácháryas, he believes, are far in advance of Western thinkers in purely spiritual endeavours,—endeavours after the emotional and practical realisation of philosophical truth. It is much to be regretted that in the present revival of our ancient religion and literature, so little attention is paid to the

founders of our philosophy, we mean the Upanishadic seers, who were all Idealists. We shall here give a sketch of the origin and development of Vedic Idealism—a sketch which may lead our readers to an independent study of the subject. Its founder, at any rate, he who first gave a systematic exposition of it, was Uddālaka Aruni. In *Chhândogya* (vi) we read that when he found his son Svetaketu, on his return from his guru's āsrama after completing his twelve years' study of the Vedas, still ignorant of that one thing, that primal Reality, which being known, everything else is known, gave him instruction on this science of sciences. His instruction is full of example and anecdote, as is also the case with that of all the other seers we are going to speak of. Their study is thus a pleasant and not a tedious task. Aruni tells us in a form more traditional than philosophical how *Sat*, the one primal Reality, thought of becoming and then actually became many. He is said to have first assumed the essential form of fire, water and earth and then combined them into the infinitely varied things and beings of the universe. But Aruni's method is traditional only in appearance, not in reality. In essence he seems to have adopted a critical method, as appears from his analysis of our waking state and states of relative and complete unconsciousness, and specially from the remarkable and oft-quoted sentence which sums up his teaching. The sentence is this,—“That which is the subtle essence,—all this consists of that, that is the true, that is the Self, thou art that O Svetaketu.” (*Chhândogya* (vi) 7 *et seq.*). In the light of this passage, the original fire, water and earth are seen to be respectively (1) the principle of luminosity or manifested knowledge, (2) that of action or will and (3) that of opaqueness and inertia,—the negation of the first two principles. Coming now to Aruni's disciple Yājñavalkya, we find him rejecting altogether his master's traditional cosmology and adopting the critical method underlying it and trying to show by various examples that things conceived apart from the self are abstraction. Anecdote also forms a prominent part of his teach-

ings. But it is chiefly through his conversation with his wife Maitreyi in *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* ii. 4 and iv. 5 and his patron, king Janaka, in *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* iv. 3 and 4 that he develops his Idealism. In the first of these dialogues Yājñavalkya teaches in miniature a philosophy of love which latterly became the basis of the *Bhakti* doctrine of our earlier Puranas. In his colloquy with Janaka he shows that the duality and variety we experience in our waking life is experienced also in our dreams, which everyone admits to be purely mental. The duality of subject and object is therefore only apparent, a distinction *in* and *not outside* knowledge. That the variety of experience is also apparent, the Real being one without a difference, he tries to prove by instancing the state of dreamless sleep, in which all difference is merged in unity. Yājñavalkya's idea of Brahmaloka, our final goal and destiny, is this condition of undifferenced unity. The third Upanishadic seer who deserves our special attention is Prajāpati, who in the course of his conversation with Indra in *Chhândogya* viii., 7-12 develops an Idealism very different from Yājñavalkya's. In fact whereas Yājñavalkya's system is an Unqualified Monism, that of Prajāpati is a Qualified one. The latter shows that the alternations of acquiring and losing knowledge,—our states of waking, dreaming and sleeping,—are only those of the finite embodied self, the Infinite underlying and constituting our rational existence being a *Paramajyoti*, a supreme light, which admits of no alternations, but in which all things exist eternally. The Brahmaloka which is our goal and destiny, is not an absolute unity in which all differences are merged, but a unity-in-difference in which purified and enlightened souls worship the Infinite and are admitted to visions and enjoyments becoming their exalted condition. However, Indra, Prajāpati's disciple, further develops in the third chapter of the *Kaushitaki* his master's Absolute Idealism and Qualified Monism and gives it a shape which is very much like that of the Idealism of Hegel and the Neo-Hegelians, showing that a subjective and objective element,—an ideal and real

aspect—enter into all forms of existence and are ultimately one. The Supreme Reality is a Person manifesting himself as the inmost Self of all finite persons. Indra's Idealism is again developed, specially in its practical side,—namely the process of attaining Brahmaloaka, the divine point of view or union with Brahman,—in the first chapter of the *Kaushitaki* by king Chitra in his conversation with Uddálaka Aruni. Overcoming four obstacles and going through the four positive stages of progress,—inhaling *Brahmagandha*, tasting *Brahmarasa*, acquiring *Brahmatejas* and enjoying *Brahmayasas*,—we attain, says Chitra, to the divine regions watered by the rivers of worship and peopled by the gods, that is purified and enlightened beings, where we actually see the process of creation going on, and finally appearing before the Divine Being seated on the throne of *Prajñá* (Reason), have direct converse with him and feel that though one with him in substance we are distinct from him in personality. Though enjoying God's inexhaustible stores, we are not lost in him but live eternally as his worshippers in the company of his blessed devotees. It will thus be seen what a great help is a study of the teachings of these Vedic seers to the realisation of the higher forms of communion with God.

SITANATH TATTVABHUSHAN

THE INDIAN FEDERATION—HOW THE PICTURE SHOULD BE COMPLETED

In this article an attempt will be made to investigate into some points that have received so far but scant attention in the discussions about a Federal constitution for India, an elucidation of which is essential for removing the anomalies and uncertainties that are inherent in the draft report of the Federal Structure Sub-committee of the Round Table Conference and for the clarification of the issues connected with the participation of the Indian states in the Federation. Notwithstanding the acceptance of the Federal ideal by the Princes and notwithstanding the substantial work that had been accomplished to develop a harmonious picture of the Indian Federation, the points brought out in this article appear to have not been fully understood or discussed, though a settlement on all of them will be considered as absolutely necessary for achieving the consummation of a Federation complete in all its parts. The indispensability of such an understanding has become all the more enhanced in view of the fact that some attempts have been and are being made to whittle down the significance and the substance of the principle of Federation and introduce some new complications which are not conducive to the realization of the full benefits of that principle. This attempt has proceeded mainly from the side of the Princes who now seem to be slowly realizing the implications of a Federal constitution, the obligations it imposes upon them and the repercussions it will naturally have upon their own position as autocratic rulers, and who on such realization are apparently striving to resile with as much speed as possible from their commitments at the Round Table Conference. That the Princes have such antagonistic intentions towards Federation has of course been scouted by some of their representatives themselves and also by the reiteration in the Gandhi-Irwin pact of the fact

that the fundamental basis of the Indian constitution of the future is Federation; but this does not however in any way weaken but only accentuates the necessity for a more definite statement on the part of the Native states that they will adhere to the Federation ideal under all circumstances and that they are prepared for a closer and more thorough-going exploration into the several problems touched upon here on which their attitude has hitherto been at best indeterminate and inconclusive.

The Nature and Organization of the Federation.

The first point that has got to be cleared is the nature of the Federation that India requires and that the Princes should be willing to agree to. The organization of a Federal Government presupposes the existence of a number of political communities possessing of right their own constitutions on forms of Government and supreme within a certain more or less extensive sphere reserved for their own action ; and, secondly, it should possess as its distinguishing mark a common Government and constitution for the direct administration of certain general concerns. Unlike a confederation, a Federal Union is not a mere league of independent states associated mainly for purposes of common defence but is a union resulting from the merger of the pre-existing political communities for the regulation of various matters common to the component members. In external relations its resemblance is to a 'real union' and internally it bears a distant resemblance to a confederation; but in its international side, it consists, as Hall, a reputed writer on International Law says, of a Central Government to which the conduct of all external relations are confided and in the absence of any right on the part of the states of the Union to secede from it at will. Such an inhibition as is contained in the last proposition is inherent in the juristic nature of the Union itself, because in a federal state the component parts become automatically subject to a common Sovereign on the establishment of the Federal constitution and

collectively they constitute a single state. Whatever the process may be by which Federal Unions are created, whether by the combination and unification of certain independent States, such as is the case with the United States of America and the Swiss Republic or by the organization of the Central Government in the first place and the subsequent coming in of the component parts as in the case of the Canadian Federation, they are in the main the creations of the will of the people as a whole and continue to exist subject to that will only, which is merely another name for the Federal State super-ordinated to them.

Two conditions are necessary, to quote Mr. Dicey, for the formation of a Federal Union as contra-distinguished from a confederation, which, in almost every instance where it had been organized had either crumbled down after a short experience, or has developed into a more comprehensive union of the Federal type, first there must be a body of communities connected by locality, history, race, and the like capable of bearing in the eyes of their inhabitants the impression of a common nationality and, secondly, there must exist a very 'peculiar sentiment among the inhabitants,' a desire for union without unity, a desire to reconcile the conflicting advantages of a national union with the disadvantages of a division of power and diversity of legislation. On the top of all these and as a powerful cementing force must come a common organic act or constitution defining the relation between the Federated States and the parts of which it is composed, demarcating for each its particular sphere of action ; and this constitution must be paramount in respect to the constitution of its component members as the maintenance in fact of Federation is dependent upon such paramountcy and will become impossible without it.

Bearing these general principles regarding the organization of the Federal state in mind, if we examine the proposal for the Federation between the Indian States and the Indian Provinces, it becomes clear that when once the former have agreed to enter the Indian Federation, they have necessarily subscribed to two

fundamental propositions, firstly that they are prepared to surrender an indispensable position of their internal independence for the purposes of the common welfare and unity and secondly that they have no intention of withdrawing themselves from the Federal Union and in fact that they could not do so even if they were so disposed. It has also to be taken for granted that they are agreed as regards the necessity for contributing in an increasing measure towards the creation of those conditions postulated by Dicey as essential for the organization of a Federal union and that they desire to promote a feeling of common nationality and a peculiar sentiment amongst their own subjects in favour of a closer union with the people of British India and for co-operation between them in the working out of common policies. Finally they ought also to be considered to have abandoned their claims with regard to 'paramount' and 'direct relations with the crown' in view of the principle enunciated above that the Federal constitution should be paramount in respect to the component members of the union as a guarantee for the maintenance of the Federation intact. It may be true that in the case of the Indian Federation, as in most others, the political communities composing the union, at least some of them, are originally independent states and that when they become federated, they will naturally enough retain the name, a good deal of the dignity and the historical traditions, and even a few of the sovereign powers of independent states; but in reality by the act of Federation they lose a large bulk of their sovereignty and with it the quality which distinguished them as states and become in strict law mere political units, non-sovereign communities, yet withal retaining a degree of local autonomy and political importance which is not enjoyed by the administrative sub-divisions of a unitary state. And when this theory is applied to the case of the states their claim referred to above to subordinate themselves in all vital matters to the sovereign power of an extraneous authority like the Crown in preference to the sovereignty of

Federal State will appear both untenable and unsustainable and wholly opposed to the theory of Federal relationship. Moreover as has been repeatedly pointed out before now, what the princes hope to benefit by enunciating a theory of Paramountcy which is not historically or constitutionally justified, in contradistinction to the one which they will place themselves automatically under in a Federal Constitution, *i.e.*, the Federal Central Government, is hard to discover, while they will acknowledge, if their desire for a Federal Union is sincere, that subordination to an administrative authority in the running of which they have the right to directly participate and the executive and administrative policies of which they can influence by reason of their membership in the Federal Legislature is a far more profitable and advantageous proposition than subordination to an extraneous authority exercising its functions through agents who would be inclined to show the Princes their real place in the scheme of things. In this connection the fact cannot be ignored that in constitutional Law the Native States were not recognized as fully sovereign independent states in the sense that they have an independent international personality of their own, that they were never considered as possessing the right of exercising the attributes of a sovereign state, and that in almost every instance where the question of their international status was in consideration, the Suzerain Power had almost always stepped in to assert its authority and to exercise those functions on their behalf. And now for the Princes to claim a sort of magnified importance by trotting forth a fresh theory of Paramountcy is only an unconvincing attempt to cut it both ways, namely, to emancipate themselves from the age-long thralldom of subordination to the Political Department and at the same time to deprive the Federal Central Government of the future of its inherent power as the lineal successor to the present Government of India to have effective control over their internal affairs, so far as its responsibility for the discharge of the constitutional functions assigned to it are concerned.

Position of the States' Subjects.

Another point about which there is a good deal of doubt and which therefore needs elucidation is the position that the subjects of the native states will occupy *vis-a-vis* the Federation and whether there is any justification for the observations made by Sir Manubhai Mehta, the Prime Minister of the Bikanir State, that for the citizens of the states to claim co-extensive privileges with the citizens of the British Indian Provinces under the Federal constitution is tantamount to a negation of all the natural laws of allegiance. With regard to this it has to be remembered that the inhabitants of states in which the Federal system of Government prevails are usually clothed with a dual citizenship and allegiance, one general and national and the local and particular, without there being however any essential antagonism as between the two. The Constitution of the United States of America as originally adopted speaks both of the citizenship of the United States and of the citizenship of the various states, although it does not define either national or state citizenship or give any indication of what was then considered their constituent elements; but the 14th Amendment adopted in 1848, cleared the uncertainty by declaring that all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to its jurisdiction were citizens of the United States and that all such persons should also be considered as citizens of the several states in which they are resident. But the possession of the United States' citizenship alone does not necessarily make one the citizen of an individual state and an important element, *i.e.*, residence within a state is obligatory to convert the former into the latter. Whatever that may be, the Fourteenth Amendment referred to above enumerates the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the United States and prohibits the states from making or enforcing laws which will in any way abridge or restrict those privileges, which, according to a decision of the United States Supreme Court, consist of the right to make

or enforce contracts, to sue in the courts, to be parties and to give evidence, to inherit purchase, lease, hold and convey any real or personal property, and, to have full and equal benefit at all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property. Article 3 of the Constitution of the German Federation declared that there shall exist a common citizenship for all Germany at the same time as it recognizes the existence of a particular citizenship in each state, and it affirms also that the citizens or subjects of each state shall be treated in every other state of the Empire as natives and shall be admitted to all civil rights enjoyed by the natives of that state and upon the same conditions.

Federal Citizenship and State Citizenship.

Thus it can be seen that in a federation, notwithstanding the fact of the existence of a dual citizenship, the citizens of a state are not and cannot be precluded from acquiring the citizenship of the Federation and *vice-versa*; and as a matter of fact, the latter is to be considered as the higher one, which when once acquired cannot be impinged upon by the action of a component state. In order to express this principle beyond the possibility of doubt, in the United States constitution provision is made for the protection of all those persons upon whom the Federal Citizenship has been conferred barring the states from curtailing the privileges and immunities which they enjoy in that capacity and giving the right to the Federal authorities to interfere whenever there is any danger of such infringement occurring.

If therefore the Native Princes are desirous of becoming members of the Indian Federation, they cannot consistently with that desire prohibit their subjects from acquiring as of right the citizenship rights of the Federal Union, with all the immunities and privileges that are associated with it, and become as much amenable to Federal laws as they are to the laws of the states, though, for the present, they can claim that the rights of citizenship

within each state can be acquired only by satisfying the normal tests imposed by it and also that the state citizenship should, as in Germany, be primary and Federal Citizenship secondary in its importance. Their Highnesses will concede that the Federal State, as the common organization for both states and Provinces, should be capable, as a matter of practical necessity, of imposing its will upon every citizen within its jurisdiction, of compelling obedience from every one to its laws and of its decisions, while, if it is not made capable of all these functions, there can be nothing in Constitutional Law to prevent it from placing all those who are not subject to its authority and allegiance outside the pale of its protection. Thus Abraham Lincoln had to constrain the Southern States by recourse to force to conform to the Federal Constitution and quite recently the Australian Commonwealth Government had to sue the Government of New South Wales to bear its portion of the payments for War-debts. Of course this last mentioned contingency may prove to be a hypothetical one in the case of India; but the point needs to be stressed that a predisposition to obedience to the common constitution and Laws of the Federal Union is and ought to be inherent in the juristic nature of the Union itself while to expect such a predisposition is the inalienable privilege of the Federal Government.

Relation between Federal and State Judiciaries.

The third point about which the attitude of the Native States is in doubt and which has to be cleared is the relationship that should subsist between the Federal Supreme Court and the Judicial Systems operating in the States and as to whether the former should be an appellate court from the Courts in the States. In States having a federal form of government, there are usually two separate series of judicial bodies, one to exercise the general or national jurisdiction at throughout the whole Union, the other to exercise the local jurisdiction of the component states. But that this is not absolutely essential and that the Federal Courts

can be an extension of the judicial systems in the states is testified to by the organization of the German judiciary. There instead of two separate systems, working independently of each other, there was one single uniform system for the whole Empire and the states alike, all of them being organized under Imperial law and all of which carried on their functions in accordance with the Imperial Code of Procedure. Thus the entire judicial system of the country from the bottom to the top rested upon the same basis; the competency and the procedure of all the courts were determined by Imperial Law and it was manned by judges whose qualifications and tenure were prescribed by the same authority.

In the United States of America, a state of affairs somewhat contrary to that which existed in Germany under the Empire is to be found, for there each individual state has organized its own judiciary and framed its own code of law and procedure according to its own notions and its own conceptions of local needs and conditions. Nevertheless, there is in practice far more of resemblance than of diversity, more uniformity than variety, between the two, owing to the common basis which is afforded by the common law, upon which the legal system of each of the states rests. The constitution of the United States, requires that the courts of each state shall give full faith and credit to the records and judicial proceedings of the other states' courts; and the spirit of "judicial comity"—the deference paid by the courts of one state to the decisions of the others—which characterizes inter-state judicial relations constitutes a powerful consolidating force. The judicial interdependence of the states and the Federal Government is however emphasized by the provision in the U. S. A. constitution that every judicial officer of a state should bind himself on oath to support its provisions and this obligation makes it incumbent upon him in his judicial capacity to respect the laws and treaties of the Federal Union, in case of conflict between them and the laws of the state and to uphold and give precedence to the former.

If the Indian Federal Constitution is to secure to the laws of the Federal Government the position of the supreme laws of the land, then it naturally and inevitably follows that in all parts of the Federation, they should be given precedence over local and individual laws and put into operation through the respective executive and judicial organizations of the states and provinces. There can be no serious objection to the acceptance of this principle by the British Indian provinces ; but obstacles are bound to arise in the Native States owing to the subtle hostility with which their Governments view it ; but it must be conceded that it is only in the establishment of such a procedure that a means to bring about a unification and consolidation of the civil and criminal law and procedure in the whole Indian Federation under the aegis of the Federal Supreme Court could be discovered. The objections of the Princes are two-fold in character : they do not want their judiciaries to be subordinate to the Federal judicial machinery and they do not like that the Federal authorities should be capable of dealing direct with their subjects even for Federal purposes. But while the first-mentioned objection is highly untenable in theory and militates against the very principle of the Federal Union, which is that the Federal constitution is the highest instrument of the common will of the people of the whole Federation and that it should endeavour to secure the maximum of uniformity in regard to common law and procedure in the various constituent parts, the second is antagonistic to the well-known and well-recognized principle of political theory that the Federal State's competence should be unquestionable with regard to its reaching in a direct manner the citizens of the states for enforcing obedience to all Federal Laws and decisions without the intermediation of the states' Governments. There is nothing, however, in what has been proposed here to prevent the States from having their own judicial organizations and their own local laws, provided however they do not come into conflict with the Federal tribunals and so long as the principle is accepted

that, in any case tried in a State Court, if the case turns upon a claim of right arising out of the constitution or laws of the Indian Federation and if the decision is adverse to that claim, the losing party has the right of appealing therefrom and have the decision reviewed by the highest Federal tribunal of the land. Thus an individual as a citizen of a Federal Union should be entitled to the privilege of seeking redress in the Federal Courts from the action of any State Court infringing his fundamental rights which he has acquired by virtue of his citizenship of the Federal state and the Federal Supreme Court (Refer my article on the Federal Supreme Court for India, published in the "Hindustan Review," Allahabad) should have the right in all such cases to intervene to protect, safeguard, and guarantee the rights accorded to him by the constitution. If this position is not conceded by the Princes, the highly anomalous state of affairs will ensue that there will come into existence two standards of jurisprudence, one for the citizens of the Provinces and the other for the subjects of the States, and two different kinds of civil and criminal procedure which is against all canons of equity and commonsense, resulting in the weakening of the Federal ideal and in its dismemberment in the long run. Their Highnesses, the Rulers of the Native States, cannot for long curb the interplay of political forces between the British India and their own territories and they cannot, without laying themselves open to the risk of engendering serious discontent amongst their subjects, prevent the principle of "Rule of Law" from prevailing within their own territories while their neighbours in the provinces enjoy its protection. The real objection however on the side of the Princes to the acceptance of this change apparently is that it would ultimately result in the curtailment of their autocratic authority and in the diminution of their "prerogative" to carry on the administration much according to their own inclinations; for any provision, such as the one here proposed, which enforces judicial cognizance of their arbitrary acts is bound to lead to an exposure of truth about their

rule in all its true colours. This discussion finally proves also that the Fundamental Rights clause to be introduced in the Indian constitution should apply equally to one and all of the citizens of the Union, irrespective of their local allegiance.

The Organization of the Federal Legislature.

It is generally recognised that the Federal Legislature in the Indian Federation should be of a bicameral character, in so far as a bicameral system affords an opportunity for giving representation to the political units composing the Federation. In order to maintain the proper equilibrium between the component members and the Federation as a whole, the former ought to be represented in one chamber of the Legislature, without regard to population, that is represented as distinct political organizations. This is the principle upon which the legislatures of most states having the Federal form of Government are at present constituted. Buntschli argues with good reason, which is made much more plausible in respect of a Federal constitution, that the Legislature should be composed of two houses, and that the upper chamber ought to rest on a different basis from the lower chamber, that it ought to represent special classes and interests or political units as such, without regard to population, while the lower chamber should represent the opinions and interests of the mass of the population, and that to this end, its members ought to be chosen by the whole body of the citizens. The Second Chamber in the Indian Federation ought to follow the principle laid down here and should be so constituted as to have as its members persons who represent the political units composing the Federation as is the case in the United States of America, the Australian Commonwealth and the Republics of Switzerland, Brazil and Mexico. With regard to the method of electing these members we need not bind ourselves to any fixed principle such as the hereditary

one which obtains in England or the appointive one which obtained in Italy and other European States ; but a mixture of the various methods may be introduced. Thus a certain number of members of high qualifications might be elected on a restricted suffrage ; a certain number might be elected in an indirect manner by the Provincial or State Legislatures where such exist ; while a very limited number might be appointed by means of nominations of the State Governments. This mixed method of composing the Upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature will also be very advantageous, in so far as it enables the Native States, where no State Legislatures exist to nominate their own representatives and may thereby help to dissipate the apprehensions of the Princes that the Federal Legislature will be swept off its feet by the democratic elements in the States.

The powers of the Second Chamber should, as far as possible, be co-extensive with those of the popular or the First Chamber, as the experience of the past demonstrates the wisdom of this policy though, as I have stated elsewhere the tendency will be for the lower chamber to assume more and more of authority and prestige as time goes on, as it is the chamber which derives its strength primarily from the Political Sovereign. But it has to be stated at the same time that in nearly every constitution, whether it be a Unitary or a Federal one, the Upper Chamber is entrusted with a share, negative or positive, in the administration of the government, often a certain participation in the control of the foreign policy of the state and sometimes is vested with important judicial functions. It is very doubtful if the second chamber in the Federal constitution in India can usefully be entrusted with any or all of these privileges ; but during the period of transition to full and complete transfer of all matters which for the present may be reserved for the control of the Viceroy, *i.e.*, Defence, Foreign relations, and the management of the Credit and Currency of the country, it may be provided in the constitution that the Government should act on the consent and advice of the Upper Chamber, and its concurrence should be made obligatory for all

decisions which it may take in the matter of administering the "safeguards" in these subjects in "India's interests."

With regard to the constitution of the Lower House there is a substantial unanimity of opinion and of practice that it should rest upon a popular basis, that is, the members should be chosen by popular election upon the basis of a wide suffrage for short terms. This is a matter again on which the attitude of the Princes needs clarification and elucidation for they have always been evading the issue as to what method they advocate with regard to sending their representatives to the Federal Legislature. They claim absolute freedom to determine the method and the basis of such representation and they are not clear whether they agree to popular election at least to the Lower House of the Central Legislature. When the basis of such election so far as the British Indian provinces are concerned is going to be the popular one, it cannot be any other thing so far as the Indian States are concerned, and while it is one thing whether the Princes can for long flout the onrush of democratic tendencies, the interplay of political forces between the Indian Provinces and States, which would necessitate their consent to the admission of their subjects to direct participation in the election to the Federal Lower House, it is quite another if they can at all refuse to introduce some such principle of direct representation, be it in a restricted and circumscribed sphere, immediately. The "Federalist" of Hamilton, while it allowed the difficulty and the dissatisfaction that would ensue if the different franchise qualifications in the different states of the U.S.A. were reduced to a uniform level, laid down the dictum that "the definition of the right of suffrage is very justly regarded as a fundamental article of the Republican Government"—which means that the determination of the principles of suffrage for the Central Legislature ought to rest with the Central Government itself. This sort of right is exercised by the Federal Government of the Swiss Republic. Where the Central Government is organised on a democratic basis, which is the case with Canada and Australia,

and which is going to be the case in India, it will be highly anomalous, to say the least of it, that the constituent parts can continue to carry on their administration on a basis of autocracy and irresponsibility; and the Princes ought to realize that their acceptance of the Federal ideal imposes upon them a responsibility to inaugurate a popular basis of election within their respective states. There can of course be nothing wrong in theory for the different states composing the Federal union to have various systems and standards of internal administration; in fact the old and new defunct German Federal Union was composed of a conglomerate of Dukedoms, Grand-Duchies, Monarchies and Republics; but where Federal purposes are concerned the Federal Government ought to and indeed has got the right to insist on certain uniform standards.

In all real Federal states one similar system of Government has prevailed throughout all the parts and the "Federalist" asserts that Governments of dissimilar principles have been found less adapted to a Federal Coalition than those of a kindred nature. Montesquieu says that where the Federating units are organized on dissimilar lines, the resulting union which can only be a confederation, cannot last very long and in fact will speedily become dismembered. While if we take the constitution of the German Republic we find that article 17 of the Constitution lays down that "the constitution of the states shall be republican in form and that the representative assemblies of the states shall be elected by universal suffrage, equal, direct and secret, of all Germans." In the face of all this, one conclusion alone is possible and that is that either the Princes do not understand all the implications of the Federation when they talked about it or that they were not quite sincere in their declarations of support for the Federal ideal, though they have themselves repeatedly asserted that if at all they federate, they will do so only when there is a fully responsible Central Government.

The Executive in the Indian Federation.

This leads us on to the question of the Executive. According to the Report of the Federal Structure Sub-committee of the Round Table Conference and also according to the Gandhi-Irwin pact, a fundamental basis on which the Central Government should be organized is that of Executive responsibility to the Legislature. That is a great step in advance over the Simon Commission proposals which did not visualize a responsible Executive in the near future and which merely advocated the perpetuation of the present system of irresponsibility. Even according to the scheme propounded by the Federal Structure Sub-committee, the principle of responsibility though accepted in theory, has been substantially diminished in its significance, by the acceptance of firstly a number of reserved powers exercisable only by the Governor-General and a number of "safeguards" in regard to which the Legislature has to have only a limited control over the Executive and secondly by the acceptance of the proposal of the Princes that the Federal Legislature should have no control over the affairs of the states in matters other than those specifically handed over to the Federal Government. There is thus to be not only "dyarchy" but a sort of triarchy in the distribution of the Executive functions, a state of affairs which does not and as a matter of fact cannot make for effective Legislative control of the Executive but which really makes the Executive more or less irresponsible over a wide range of subjects, which are essential for the promotion of the public good. When it is further remembered that the subjects which are thus to be placed beyond the control of the Federal Legislature are of such fundamental a character as Defence, Foreign Affairs, credit and currency and the control over the Native States, the extent of the scope of deprivation of powers to the Legislature becomes obvious. But the most reassuring point however is that such deprivation is to be only of a transitory and temporary character. It has under these circumstances to be

provided that this transitory period should be of a fixed and short duration, so short indeed that it may not be felt that insistence on it was only a cover devised by the framers of the constitution to surreptitiously divest the Federal Legislature of the element of real control by a manipulation of circumstances. From what has been said, it inevitably follows that the Federal Executive should be composed of a Governor-General and a cabinet, the personnel of which should be chosen from the party which is able to command a majority in the Federal Parliament and that it should be removable from office by reason of either an adverse vote on an important Legislative measure or by a vote of "no-confidence" passed after sufficient notice of it has been given. In order to protect the Executive from frequent attacks or from being defeated on a snap vote and in order to ensure its stability and permanence, it should be given the right of appealing to the country on any issue over which it is at variance with the Legislature without resigning at once. Another point which has to be provided for is that the Executive should be responsible only to the Legislative house elected on the popular basis and not to the Upper one, which if elected on the basis of the political units composing the Federation, as has been postulated in the course of the article, must usually have a longer tenure, a rotation of members, and therefore be continuous in its existence. In that case the dissolution will apply only to the Lower chamber elected on a popular basis.

The Problem of Sovereignty and Residual Powers.

Finally we come to the question of sovereignty in the Federal union, in the course of discussion on which, the claim of the Princes that they should be allowed to retain their internal sovereignty which they say they possess and their further demand that the Federal constitution should not and cannot deprive them of that sovereignty, will have to be examined and

elucidated. With this goes the question of what power should have the right of amending the constitution, a right which is the attribute of only the sovereign power.

Sovereignty is in the main indivisible and unitary, it is the expression or manifestation of the supreme Will within a state ; and as Rousseau says, " though power may be divided, Will cannot be." But there are a number of writers, notable of whom are Bryce, Lowell and Hurd, who maintain that in a Federal State sovereignty can be divided between the nation on the one hand and the states on the other and that each is sovereign within the sphere marked out for it by the constitution of the union. Mr. Lowell asserts emphatically that " there can exist within the state territory two sovereigns issuing commands to the same subjects touching different matters; Lord Bryce maintains that legal sovereignty may be divided between co-ordinate authorities, while Freeman asserts that " the complete division of sovereignty we may look upon as essential to the absolute perfection of the Federal ideal." Woodrow Wilson, although attributing to the individual states of the American union the character of the real states, says that their sphere is limited by the presiding sovereign powers of a state superordinated to them. The resultant of this discussion is that though sovereignty cannot be divided, its function may be and its authority may be delegated to different agents for different purposes. Applying this principle to the so-called Federal state, we shall find that the sovereign will express itself on certain subjects through the medium of a central government and on other subjects through the organs of the individual political units composing the Federation. There is a division by the sovereign itself of governmental powers and a distribution of them among two sets of organs but no division of the will itself. And in the face of this to say that the component members of a Federal union are partly sovereign or sovereign within their particular spheres is an abuse of the term sovereignty. " There is no middle ground," says Willoughby, speaking of the nature of sovereignty

in the American Federal system, "sovereignty is indivisible and either the central power is sovereign and the individual members not or *vice versa*. They are not states, for that would be "*imperia in imperio*, but they are administrative districts with larger powers of autonomy than are given others—an autonomy which amounts to practical local self-government in matters not of general concern." Juristically this is an absolutely correct statement of the status of the so-called States of the American Federal Republic and *mutatis mutandis*, the statement applies with equal accuracy to the British Indian provinces and the Native states that become members of the Indian Federation. They may have the attributes of sovereignty in regard to certain specific matters which are delegated to them by the Federal constitution ; but in strict fact those attributes are merely delegated and not inherent and cannot be claimed as supreme as against the authority of the Federal state the Federal state in India is or ought to be sovereign in all those matters which concern the Federal Union and the states or provinces can exercise only those powers which are handed over to them. These latter have no international sovereignty for they have no independent international personalities of their own ; and for all purposes of international action, they ought to be subordinate to the Federal state. In these circumstances to claim, as the Princes are doing, that they should be immune from all control in those matters which have not specifically been placed in the hands of the Federal Government, is to do something which is against all doctrines of political science and constitutional law. The Sankey Report no doubt speaks of crown subjects, federal subjects, central subjects and provincial subjects centrally administered and so on ; but this classification is more a convenient than a scientific or juristic one, and will have to be examined carefully with a view to the removal of the needless and absolutely untenable complexities it seeks to introduce into the Indian Constitution. The arrangements therein recommended were done at the instance of the Princes who wanted to protect what they

conceive to be their internal sovereign rights by placing as few subjects in the hands of the Federal Government and by placing as many subjects as possible outside the control of the Federal Government by designating them "Crown" subjects or subjects concerning "Paramountcy." The class of subjects known as Crown subjects ought to be removed by making the states agree to the supremacy of the Federal Government in preference to that of the Crown exercised through the Viceroy ; while the two divisions of Federal and Central subjects should be consolidated and the Native states and the provinces placed on a footing of perfect equality in regard to their relations with the Central Government by classifying all of them as Federal subjects alone.

When this modification with regard to the proper place which the Native States should occupy is made in the future constitution, the modification namely that for all practical purposes they should be on a par with the British Indian Provinces, then the controversy as to where the residual powers in the Indian constitution should rest will lose much of its significance. It will then be recognized that the Central Government must be left with more and more of authority and prestige as the embodiment of the common will of the people of both the States and the Provinces to enable it to play its rôle successfully in the international sphere and that it should not be obstructed in the discharge of its duties and obligations in that regard by disintegrating tendencies of the component units, each pulling its weight along its own path without looking to the general good. All the component parts must be enabled to combine to make the Federal Government strong and unfettered in its actions and this result can be achieved only by the residual powers being assigned to it. For it has to be remembered that it is only the communalist who wants to secure an unfair advantage in certain provinces over his fellow subjects belonging to other communities and the Princes who want to retain their autocratic powers intact while seeming to agree to a wishy-washy Federation in which they will be in the position of

privileged partners, that argue stoutly in favour of residual powers being left in the hands respectively of the Provinces or the States and not any one else who visualizes an India of the future, glorious, united and bound together by a common civilization and culture unfolding itself into its full shape under a Federal constitution and a common federal government and taking its place in international gatherings with all the pride and prestige that will be hers then.

Now as regards the question of where the principle of sovereignty should rest in the Federal state. Sovereignty as has already been said is the highest attribute of an organized state ; it is the one characteristic which serves to distinguish the state *in toto genere* from all other human associations. Also, as stated above, it is indivisible but its *functions* can be divided amongst the various organs of the state. When we accept this standpoint we are still not on certain ground ; because in the case of India as well as in that of the other self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth we have still to reckon with the British Parliament, which alone can be said legally to possess the distinguishing characteristic that is associated with a sovereign body, *i.e.*, the capacity to compel habitual obedience from the bulk of a given society or in other words its most commonly manifested right of amending the highest constitutional instruments on which the organization of these states is based. There can be no doubt therefore that, looked at from this point of view, the British Parliament is in the strict legal sense the sovereign body, unless it chooses to divest itself of its right as it has been doing in recent times by the recognition of the Dominions as co-equal partners in a Community of nations known as the British Commonwealth of nations. Indian nationalist opinion has always been claiming this sort of immunity from the interference of Parliament in the determination of its constitutional advance and status and it is this claim that is at the bottom of the movement for Independence or

“Purna Swaraj.” So long as we accept the theory of reservations and safeguards in the Indian Constitution, it however becomes necessary that in a limited sphere, in the sphere of determining the relationship between England and India, the power of amending the constitution or the function of sovereignty should rest with the British Parliament ; while in regard to all international matters concerning the relationship of India with other nations, the relationship between the Central Government and the constituent parts and others, the power of amendment should rest with the Federal Parliament. A provision should also be made that for all purposes of amendment a two-thirds majority of the two houses of the Federal Legislature sitting together should be secured ; and this is a suggestion which ought to commend itself in view of the well recognised principle that the process of amendment should not be made unduly cumberousome. If necessary a special provision may also be introduced that in order to amend any clause in the Fundamental Rights portion, a general election should precede the proposal of the amendment and its acceptance by a two-thirds majority. The suggestions made here proceed on the basis that the position of the Native States and the Provinces will be made to rest on an equal footing and that no special privileges will be claimed by the Princes or granted to them apart from the privileges which they can claim as members of a common Federation.

Conclusion.

An attempt is made in this paper to discuss only a few of the major issues in respect of the evolution of an Indian Federal constitution that have to be settled satisfactorily ; and there are many more minor problems, *e.g.*, the allocation of subjects between the Federal and the State Governments, the method of apportioning heads of revenue and expenditure between them, the means by which the minor states can be

brought into the constitutional structure and so on that stand over for equitable adjustment. But it may be stated definitely, however, that if there is no common meeting-ground between the Indian Provinces and the Native States, on which these issues cannot be satisfactorily solved, it will detract so very substantially from the Federal ideal as to make one justified in feeling sceptical about the sincerity of these Princes and in considering the desirability of effecting a parting of the ways. The attitude of the Princes, it must be frankly admitted, has not been so far very helpful, if judged from the proceedings of the Round Table Conference (ref. to the speeches of H. H. the Nawab of Bhopal and H. H. the Maharajah of Bikanir at the Conference) and the recommendations of the Sankey Report and the subsequent utterances of some of their representatives, *e.g.*, the speech of Sir Munubhai Mehta already referred to and the memorandum said to have been drafted now by the Maharajah of Patiala; and in the face of all of them the conclusion is irresistible that on any, if not on all the issues raised here, they will not assist the Round Table Conference, when it resumes its sitting to register any notable advance. In that case, the question will naturally arise as to whether British India and its representatives have been treated squarely by Their Highnesses the Indian Princes and whether the former have not been paying too high a price for enlisting the co-operation of the latter in the cause of promoting the common cause of India's constitutional advance. If the deficiencies in the Sankey scheme of Federation noted in the course of this article are not covered up this impression will gain more ground, the more so because the advantages of that scheme are all in favour of the Native States and the sacrifices demanded are all from the British Indian Provinces. It will also mean that the Princes have all along been simply toying with the Federal ideal, the while they were contemplating nothing more than a mere loose union of the type of a confederation. The principles embodied in Federal scheme relating to participation of

the Native States in the work of the Indian Federation were no doubt incorporated with the consent of the British Indian delegates (it was a prominent member of this group, namely, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, that was responsible for the reactionary proposal that a two-thirds majority of the central legislature should be required for the removal of a ministry—a proposal which would have the effect of making the latter virtually irremovable and made most probably to please the Princes) ; but unless they are all relaxed and made to suit the theoretical foundations on which a Federal constitution with the central characteristic of full Responsibility is to be built, the whole scheme may very well be scrapped. For British Indian citizens cannot tolerate the bartering away of a substantial measure of their freedom, privileges and rights for the purpose of securing an airy co-operation on the part of the States, most of which are not animated by any genuine desire for union much less for unity and are out only to extract concessions without giving anything in return. We do not of course expect the Princes to shed at once all their ancient ideals of dignity and prestige and become converted into democratic rulers of a constitutional character ; we do not wish that they should give away everything demanded of them by their subjects and rub shoulders with the latter on a footing of equality, but we do expect them to manifest a real desire for democratic advance within their respective states ; to carry out reforms which will admit their subjects to a participation in the work of government and to submit in all common matters to the will of the Federal Government without bringing in another authority which is beyond the Indian constitutional structure. They must in short prove their bonafides, if not go the whole length with the British Indian Provinces in all matters ; for, it is then only that there will be hope that time and circumstances will work out the necessary transformation in them and will claim their full allegiance to the ideal of the Indian Federation. If not, the more honourable course for all would be to abandon

the Federation principle, to give up the search for *common viewpoints* and to allow freedom to the Provinces and the States to go their own way in preference to a half-willing acquiescence in a jerry-built Federal Union.¹

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO

¹ Since the above article was written, events in the Indian Political world have moved fast. A definite movement of revolt against the federal ideal has proceeded from a section of the Native Princes under the leadership of the Maharajah of Patiala, who has made it the chief plank of attack against the Sankey scheme that it does not sufficiently safeguard the interests of the smaller states. A substantially representative body of Princes which met in Bombay two months back has no doubt reaffirmed and reiterated. But this reaffirmation of loyalty to the Federal principle does not mean anything in so far as insistence was made on the safeguards, on the independence of the Native States and on the incapacity of the Federal Government to interfere in any way with the internal affairs of the States. No attempt was made even then to define the theory of relationships between the Federal Government and the Governments of the component states and no indication was given that the Princes were prepared to surrender even the indispensable minimum of their supposed independence and sovereignty for the sake of the common ideal. Last of all, the theory of Paramountcy, about which there had been so much loose and vague talk, has not been properly elucidated or its implications defined. Everything is left beautifully vague and undefined—a state of affairs not at all conducive to the adjustment of points of difference and to the evolution of an Indian Federation which will be in consonance with the theory of Federalism in the Round Table Conference. To add to this, the Maharajah of Patiala has not lowered his standard of revolt and has not yet given up his slogan of a confederation of states with a council of Native States which should have independent legislative and administrative authority as regards the Native States quite apart and distinct from the Federal Legislature. The chances of an agreement or a compromise are therefore now more remote than ever before, while the attitude of the British representatives to the Round Table Conference, which is becoming more and more reactionary latterly, only aggravates these apprehensions. In these circumstances, the doubts expressed and the objections raised in regard to the Sankey scheme of Federation in the course of the article above remain unanswered and uncleared leaving one incapable of saying how far the Indian Federation will be a successful one in operation even if it is reaffirmed for the second time in London. If no satisfaction is afforded on the several points raised, it will then become the duty of the British Indian delegates to the R. T. C. to give up seeking for a co-operation which is not forthcoming on the part of the Princes and strive to secure complete Responsible Self-Government for the British Indian Provinces and a similar form of Government at the centre.

POETS IN EARLY ARABIA

“The poet,” says Emerson, “is the sayer, the namer and represents beauty. He is the sovereign and stands in the centreHe is not any permissive potentate, but is emperor in his own right.” “The birth of a poet,” he adds, “is the principal event in Chronology.” Emerson, while writing these words could have scarcely thought of the poets of Arabia of the pre-Islamic period, but those who are conversant with the Arabian poetry of this period, and are aware of the position of the poet in the Arabian society as it was then constituted, know that the remarks of Emerson are literally true of the illiterate poet of uncivilised Arabia. He was really and truly the namer; they called him the sayer and celebrated his appearance as a great event in their society. “When there appeared a poet in a family of the Arabs,” says Prof. Nicholson on the authority of the *Kitābul-‘Umda*, “the other tribes came to him and congratulated him; feast was got ready; the women joined together and played upon lutes just as they did at bridals; the men and the boys congratulated one another, for verily a poet was a defence to their honour, a guard of their good name, a preserver of their noble deeds and a reciter of their glories. “They never congratulated one another,” he adds, “but on the birth of a boy, the appearance of a poet or on the foaling of a mare.”¹ “The Arabs before the advent of Islam,” says al-Jāhiz, “respected the poet more than the orator because they needed him most.” “It was poetry,” he adds, “that treasured their noble deeds and enhanced their prestige, and was a source of terror to their enemy whom it warned of their skilful riders and of their large numbers.”² The Arab poet of those by-gone times was loved by some, feared by others and respected by all.

¹ *Lit-His Hr.*, p. 71.

² *Al-Bayān Wal-Tabyin*, Vol. 1, p. 150.

He could defy the commands of a king, *make or mar the* future of the individuals, and enhance or injure the reputation of the tribes. He could raise a determined band of fighters for the cause he loved, and he could also bring about peace between warring tribes. All this he could do just by reciting a few verses which were no sooner recited than "flew across the desert faster than arrows and came home to the hearts and bosoms of all who heard them." 'Amr-b-Kulthúm, the author of one of the choicest Arabian poems, suspecting that his mother was insulted, did not hesitate to kill the king and threw an open challenge to his people.¹ Al-A'sha, a blind poet, got a large number of suitors, for the three daughters of al-Muḥallaq, by reciting his poem at the fair of 'Ukáz. Before the poem was recited no Arab youth cared for the hands of Al-Muḥallaq's daughters and he, at last, being anxious, had to seek the help of the blind poet.² Ḥutayī'a, another poet, secured such an honour and esteem for Anaful-Naqa by his few verses, that his descendants began to boast of him, whereas before these verses were recited, he had a very bad reputation and even his descendants concealed their relation with him.³ Banú Numayr, an Arab tribe of an established high reputation, was brought so low by one flying couplet of Jarír, that even the members of the tribe, fearing the public opinion, did not like to be known as such.⁴ The children of Ḍirár, in spite of being too young at the time of their father's death, stopped their mother from contracting a fresh conjugal relation, by the sheer force of their poetic talent, and after some time, Shammákh, one of these very children made Erába, an insignificant member of the tribe of Aus, famous throughout Arabia, just by reciting one couplet in his favour.⁵ Another poet, Aus-b-Ḥujr, being approached by Shuáyth-b-Sahm whose

¹ Kitábu'l-Umda, p. 24.

² Al-Bayán and Wal-Tabyin, Vol. 3, p. 233.

³ Kitábú'l-'Umda, p. 25.

⁴ Ibid, p. 26.

⁵ Ibid, p. 19.

camels were taken away by certain nomadic tribes, composed a few verses. They affected the partizans of Shu'ayth so much that they got back for Aus all his lost camels.¹ Another poet, Yaguth b-Waqqas, being captured by Banu Taym lamented his lot in a few verses. These verses soon reached the allies of the poet and they at once got ready for another terrific fight.² The fall of Banu 'Ajalán and of Habalást and the fame of Banú Thaur was due to only a few short magical poems.³

When so great was the influence of the art of poetry on the minds of the Arabs is it to be wondered, then, that the devotees of the art were loved by some of them and feared by others, and the populace attributed to them supernatural powers? They believed that the poet had some spirit under his control, and it was through his help that he could know things unknown and unknowable to the others.⁴ They called him al-sháir, the knower. This belief of the common people was supported by certain expressions used by some of the poets themselves. One of them, for example, being asked why did he compose so few poems, said "because I do not accept all that is inspired by my spirit (Shytán).⁵ This superstitious belief of the ancient Arabs has been explained by some later critics of the Arabian poetry. They hold that the poet possesses a keener sense of perception and finer feelings, than the common herd of people, or perhaps he has a sixth sense which is denied to others.

The high esteem of the art of poetry, however, was kept up by Islam also. The Prophet of Islam himself often requested his companions to recite the poems of the great poets of pre-Islamic period and showed his appreciation for them and declared in unequivocal terms the worth of the art of poetry by his well-known remarks, that "some poems were wisdom itself." He

¹ Al-Bayán Wal-Tabyin, Vol. 3, p. 235.

² *Ibid*, p. 237.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 233, 234, 235.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 74.

⁵ *Ibid*, Vol. 1, p. 150.

bestowed high honours on some of the poets and requested them to use their art in the defence and propagation of Islam.

He asked one of his poet companions, "What is poetry?" "It is something which I feel and to which my tongue gives expression," replied the companion. "Recite to me some of them," said the Prophet, and when a line was recited he showed his appreciation for it.¹ He asked another of his followers, on another occasion, to recite some of the lines of Umayya-b-Abi-al-Ṣalt and when it was done he exclaimed at the end of every couplet, "Hear, hear!" When a couplet of Labíd was recited to him he remarked that it was prophetic;² when he heard the eulogy of Naḍr-b-al-Ḥārith by his sister, he said that had he heard it before he would never have ordered to kill him³ when Amr-b-Málik recited his poem to him he shed tears.⁴ When he heard his wife 'Áisha reciting the lines of Abu-Kabir-al-Hadhali, he remarked that he could not please her as much as she had pleased him.⁵ The Prophet of Islam in his conversation made references to the allusion in the poems of the pre-Islamic poets and explained the exact allusion in some of them and corrected those who committed mistakes in reciting them. He highly appreciated good poetry and showed great regard for good poets.⁶ He erected a pulpit for his poet companion, Hassân-b-Thábit, who sat upon it while reciting his poems.⁷ He gave over to him a slave girl, Sírín,⁸ and bestowed upon Ka'b. Zuhayr his Yamanite mantle, as a token of appreciation, for his famous poem generally known as "Poem of the Mantle."⁹ He also gave to Abbás-b-Mirdás,¹⁰ a garment as a reward for a

¹ al-'Iqdú'l-Faríd, Vol. 3, p. 83.

² *Ibid*,

³ *Ibid*, p. 84.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 86.

⁵ Jamhara, p. 27.

⁶ Husnu'l-Sahaba, p. 14.

⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 13, 14

⁸ Kitabu'l-Umda, p. 9.

⁹ Husnu'l-Sahaba, p. 17.

¹⁰ al-Iqdú'l Farid, Vol. 3, p. 91.

poem recited by him. He requested Ḥassán-b-Thabit and others to combat the infidels with their poems and said that with the Quraysh their poems were more effective than the shooting of arrows.¹

In the cultivation of the art of poetry and in the encouragement of the poets, the followers and successors of Muḥammad followed the example set by their master. It is said that there was not a single companion of Muḥammad who did not compose poems.² The verses composed by two hundred of the "companions" are collected and published with a commentary by Abú Fahmí. The first four Caliphs of Islam, however, practised this noble art with some success. Their poems are recorded by Ibn-Rasbiq, Ibnul-Faraj and others. 'Umar the second Caliph, to whom Islam owes more than to any one else, is said to have been the best critic of Arabian poetry, in his own time.³ He had declared in unequivocal words that poetry was the best art.⁴ He, very often, quoted poems of the pre-Islamic bards.⁵ He asked his son, 'Abdul-Raḥmán, to learn this art,⁶ and sent orders to Abú Músa, the Governor of Kúfa, to ask those who came to him to learn it, for it led to high morals, ripe judgment and was a source of the knowledge of genealogy.⁷ 'Al'í the fourth Caliph said that poetry was the standard of a nation's (civilisation).⁸ Mu'awiya, the first Umayyad Caliph, said that it was incumbent upon every one to initiate his son into the art of poetry for it was the best art to be taught.⁹ He also said that poetry should receive the best consideration. "It was poetry," he added, "that saved me from defeat at the Battle of Siffin."¹⁰ He wrote to one of his governors

¹ Kitābul-'Umda, p. 12.

² Jamhara, p. 30.

³ Kitābu'l-'Umda, p. 12.

⁴ al-Iqdu'l-Farid, Vol. 3, p. 85.

⁵ Husnúl-Saḥaba, p. 14.

⁶ Jamhara, p. 29.

⁷ Kitābu'l-'Umda, p. 10.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Kitābu'l-'Umda, p. 10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Ziyad asking him to train his son in the art of poetry for it led the astray, to the right path, made the miser generous, and turned the coward into a brave fighter.¹ 'Abdullāh-b-'Abbās said, "If you fail to understand any verse in the Quran refer to the poems of the Arabs."² Sa'id-b-al-Musayyib, being told that some people in Mesopotamia disliked poetry, said that they had imbibed the taste of the non-Arabs.³

Even the ladies in the early days of Islam had high appreciation for poetry. The wives of Muḥammad at times discussed the allusions in the poem of the pre-Islamic Arabs.⁴ 'A'isha his favourite wife is said to have treasured in her memory a very large number of poems. Of Labid alone she could recite more than a thousand couplets. She is said to have advised: "Teach poetry to your sons; it makes their tongues sweet."⁵

Of such appreciation of the noble art of poetry by the companions of Muḥammad, men as well as women, can be quoted thousands of instances. Can it be fairly and reasonably said, then, that Islam or the Muslims brought about the downfall of the fine art of poetry? No; what was discouraged was the wrong use of the art, not the art itself.⁶

The poet of early Arabia also, however, held his art in high esteem. He never used it but for the sake of the art itself or for a cause which he held near and dear to his heart—to make the golden deeds of his tribe immortal, to defend, uphold or enhance their prestige and to warn or attack their opponents and the like. He never degraded the art by selling it in the open market, or making it a means of earning his livelihood. He never eulogised any one but for actually praiseworthy qualities possessed by him.

¹ Iqd, Vol. 3, p. 85.

² Kitābul-'Umda, p. 11.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Husnūl-Sahāba*, p. 14.

⁵ *al-Iqdu'l-Farid*, p. 85.

⁶ *Kitābul-'Umda*, pp. 9-12.

In the large number of poems by the early bards of Arabia we scarcely find a poem devoted to the praise of a king or of a chief, which is so commonly found in the Arabian poets of the later period. Imraul-Qays, who is generally taken to be the greatest poet of Arabia, never praised any individual excepting one or two who had helped him in certain battles. Zuhayr praised only those who possessed praiseworthy qualities.¹ As a matter of fact he held truth to be the first and foremost element of poetry. He himself says

ان اشعر بيت قائله - بيت يقال اذا انشدته صدقا

“Of the verses which thou hast made, the fairest in praise ;

Is that whereof when they hear, may say, yea, that is the truth.”

Salāma b. Jandal being asked by Banu Tamīm to glorify them by his verses, said “first do glorious deeds, then I will sing them.”² This spirit of independence, and the high esteem and respect for the art, continued among the Arab poets till the time of Nabigha of Dhubyān who was the first to sing praises of kings (N‘umān and Ḥārith) for the sake of reward which lowered his position in the Arabian society. He was followed by al-‘Ašha and Ḥuṭayyia who lived on their poems and degraded the noble art of poetry to the position of a money-making business.³ The poet in the later period, was consequently, very much degraded in the society of the Arabs, and the orator who was, at first, taken to be inferior in rank to the poet, began to be looked upon with greater respect.⁴

The feeling of respect for the art, however, among some high-thinking poets continued down to the Abbaside period. Jamil,

¹ al-Iqdu'l-Farid, Vol. 3.

² *Ibid*, p. 84.

³ K Itabul-Umda, pp. 49-50.

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 50-51.

an Arab poet of the Umayyad period, being asked by the Caliph Walīd-b-ʿAbdul-Malik to recite a poem in his praise boasted of his own greatness.¹ Yzīd-b-Ummul-Ḥakam, when he was asked by ferocious Ḥajjāj to recite a poem praising him, sang the glory of his father, and lost a lucrative post.² Al-Farazdaq indulged in his own praises when he was asked by Sulaymān b-ʿAbdul-Malik to eulogise him.³ ʿUmar-b-Rabīʿa never admired a king or a chief.⁴ Labīd, a Mukhaḍḍrim poet found fault with his daughter on her expressing desire for presents, in one of her poems.⁵ Ibn-Mayyada, a poet who lived up to the Abbasid period, wrote a poem in praise of al-Manṣur, the second Abbasid Caliph, but realising the high honour of the art he gave up the idea of going to the Caliph and reciting the poem to him.⁶

Though certain individual noble spirits kept up the old Arabian tradition of respect for the art of poetry even in the later periods, yet there is no doubt that the flow of gold and silver among the Arabs demoralised their poets in general. Their sense of respect for the art was chilled. Their spirit of independence was killed. The devotee of the art was lured by the love of lucre. No more did he practise the art for its own sake. No more did he believe in the purity and the sublimity of the art. His eyes were dazzled by the apparent brightness of gold and could not see the serene sublime beauty of the art. He was intoxicated by the wine of wealth and was unable to enjoy the pleasure of poetry. He sacrificed the prestige of the art at the altar of riches.

In the large number of poets who thronged the court of the Caliphs we scarcely find one who would not be ready to shower his praises upon any one from whom he could expect a few

¹ *Ibid*, p. 51.

² „ p. 44.

³ „ p. 44.

⁴ „ p. 52.

⁵ „ p. 50.

⁶ „ p. 51.

paltry pence. He praised him who deserved no praise ; praised him and begged for reward. He received it and begged for it again. The rival of the royalties reduced himself to the position of a beggar.

In spite of the abuses of the poet, however, poetry itself remained pure, high and sublime. The artist fell but the art stood erect and high on its own magical force. The poets and the patrons together with their rewards and robes of honour have passed away, but poetry still stands in all its glory and majesty and is a source of pleasure and inspiration to those who can understand and enjoy it. The words of Caliph 'Umar the Second is true even to-day. He said to a son of Haram b. Sinán, "what (robes and rewards) your father gave to Zuhayr (the poet) is gone and forgotten ; but what he (Zuhayr) gave to your father (*i.e.*, poems of Zuhayr in his praises) still lives and is immortal." The couplet of Nizami 'Arúdí is true to the very letter, even to-day :

بسا کاخا کہ محمودش بنا کرد * کہ از فعت همی با مہ مرا کرد
بینی زان ہمہ یک خشت بر پا ئے * مدیم عنصری ماندست بر جا ئے

"How many a palace did great Mahmūd raise,
At whose tall towers the moon did stand at gaze,
Whereof one brick remaineth not in place,
Though still re-echo 'Unşuri's sweet lays."

E. G. BROWNE.

M. Z. ŞİDDİQÎ

ARE CHILDREN WORTH WHILE ?

“ Children ? not for me, thanks. They are too much of a nuisance.”

It is so often we hear these words that we have almost come to believe them.

“ Look at all the mothers you know,” the speakers continue, “ they have hardly a moment to themselves. If it isn’t Billy’s pants that need darning, it’s Pat’s sums that have to be seen to, or Elizabeth’s questions that must be answered. Then it’s always ‘I’m sorry, Mrs. Gregory, we won’t be able to come this evening, the baby has a temperature.’ ”

“ Again, ‘ What a beautiful fur !’ and then, with a sigh, ‘ Oh well, it’s no use looking at it, I couldn’t get it now.’ No, no furs, nor dresses, nor parties, nor good times, only children—and trouble.”

That is so sometimes, but not always. People with a sense of true values will find that no party, however enjoyable, could bring the same joy that comes to a mother on feeling her child’s first tooth, or on hearing its first triumphant “ Ma, Ma.”

Givers, it is said, are more blessed than takers; so a mother’s sacrifices for her children are in themselves a pleasure, notwithstanding the joyful repayment made by the happy and grateful youngsters.

It is a mistaken idea to suppose that children are ungrateful. They never forget a kindness, or an interest shown in their childish pursuits, in fact, eager at all times to oblige. An aching head (due, probably, to overwork on their behalf), which is soothed by little hands is forgotten sooner than one that is born of late nights and is cured by an aspirin.

Most parents help their children with their lessons. No doubt this is irksome, but it has the advantage of taking us

back to our schooldays, which, as everyone knows, are synonymous with the happiest days of our life. And no parent is so old (or young) that he does not delight in comparing present methods with past—to the advantage of his day, of course!

Children are always asking why? what? when? This thirst for knowledge is very inconvenient at times, and is much more so now, when our modern children view with suspicion the slogan that they should be seen and not heard. It is difficult to tell a child why God does not lock up Satan, but remembering our own confusion at that immature age, we endeavour to explain to the best of our ability! It is with pride that we chuckle to ourselves, “Why, I thought the very same thing—and not such a long time ago either,” as we stop to explain some intricacy of the schoolroom.

Many are the things parents have to do without in order to get their children necessities, and sometimes luxuries. It does not need Economics to tell us that what would do very well for two people would not go so far for three, and, for four, would be hardly 'sufficient. Still it is cold comfort to be endowed with this world's wealth if we are to lack children.

So on children we spend our energy, our time, our money—but are they a nuisance? Oh, no; rather, they are a gift to mankind, and blessed are those who possess them.

F. I. SOLOMON.

IN MEMORIAM

(S. K. B.)

"They told me Heraclitus! they told me you were dead.
They brought me the bitter news, now bitter tears to shed."

W. CORY.

Khuda Bukhsh has passed away. Although evening shadows were gathering round him betimes yet no one suspected that the end was so near. By his death the University has lost an enthusiastic student and an admirable exponent of law and ancient history. His single-minded devotion to learning, his generosity and kindness of heart, above all his universality and serenity are seldom found in a mere lawyer. A man of uncommon culture, he spent his spare moments in his splendid library. Books were a passion to him and he was fond of quoting Anatole France: "Each one of us dreams his dream of life in his own way, my dream of life has been dreamt in my library." The business of life finished, the storm and stress over, my noble friend now sleeps a dreamless sleep to wake up in a new world of unfading beauty and infinite calm "that passeth understanding."

S. C. B.

Reviews

Hinduism Invades America—By Wendell Thomas, B.S., M.A., Ph.D., S.T.M. Published by the Beacon Press, New York. \$ 3. September, 1930.

This is a propaganda book, calculated to rouse the spirit of antagonism to cultural missions sent by various Hindu organisations to America. The innocent introduction by Mr. Fosdick recognises the superiority of spiritual life over the mechanized living, and appreciates this modest attempt to describe the direct and indirect invasion of Western life and thought by Hinduism. But as we read on, we become aware of an original intention to belittle the cultural missions of the East. It will not be amiss, and I hope it will be permitted, to show this by reference to certain passages of the book.

The slight account of Christian missionary work (p. 18) is disappointing. Portuguese missions came over to India *earlier* than the middle of the 18th century but the omission of all mention about them can only indicate rank and colossal ignorance. Worse than such ignorance is the cynic, satiric touch which has vitiated the author's outlook and made him start with a partisan idea. It is this which makes him diagnose Ramkrishna as "an epitome of Hindu orthodoxy, *plus* a dash of tender love" (p. 43), which mentions Mahatma Gandhi, with 'Mahatma' enclosed in inverted commas. Turning over the next page we find: "The family had its idol, and the village had one too. The child was marked for religion." How amusing to any one acquainted with Indian life, for Hindu families and villages have *generally* their own 'idols!' The satiric attitude comes out when the writer comments upon Ramkrishna's parentage and says: "Our hero made a wise choice of parents" (p. 44). In commenting upon the dream which Chandra Devi had before the birth of Sri Ramkrishna, he says: "In a similar manner, so runs tradition, were the classic Hindu incarnations conceived: Rama, Krishna, Buddha, as also Sankaracharya" (p. 45). "He might have added the name of Jesus Christ to this illustrious list. The theory of Kali having been "originally a blood-thirsty female demon of an original tribe," subsequently taken into the Hindu pantheon, is too much exploded to bear repetition in a publication of 1930. How crazy the Western writer feels as he comments upon the effect of Kali worship on Ramkrishna and Vivekananda:—"In so far as both Hindu teachers were affected by the worship of this principle, at once terrible and humane, they would not be likely to spend much effort in making their environment more humane and less terrible. In other words, any

moral effort would tend to be sporadic and confused " (p. 48). This comment is unexpected from one who has taken so much care to master the details in the life of these two saints. But as I have already said, the only explanation is that he has not read his books with an open mind, but merely to prove a theory, to furnish butts for his ridicule. *E.g.*, in giving an account of Ramkrishna, when he was about to commit suicide for not having been vouchsafed an interview by Kali, the author says: " Just as he was about to kill himself with a ceremonial sword," etc. (p. 49) ; the italicised word shows how he intends to pour ridicule on the attempt. The addition of a detail, true by itself, results in a ridiculous idea. A few more illustrations will clear up his attitude towards Ramkrishna: (1) In explaining the relations of Ramkrishna with his wife, the author says, " He would regard her only as his mother " (p. 50); this is wrong, he never defined it except in calling her *Anandamayee*. (2) "Such things he learned from his Brahmani " (the italics are ours). (3) " For six months he remained practically dead to the world, and came back to his senses only after a siege of dysentery that lasted another six months " (p. 54).

The same contempt for his subject characterises his treatment of Swami Vivekananda ; he translates (obviously with the object of ridicule) Narendra Nath as the " Lord of Men;" if Christian names are thus translated, will they be something different? When Narendra Nath renounces the world, this is how he explains it: " A brilliant, ambitious youth reduced to starvation by the blows of circumstance, and then—renunciation as the only alternative to crime or death or undignified labor. Renunciation, because the climate of India can support it. Renunciation, because of its now hoary sanction. No wonder this youth for ever after called this world a hell." Again, " he fled the world he could not conquer... His forsaken family? Oh, it managed somehow." This same attitude makes the author trace the tendency for renunciation in the Brotherhood to indigence, as we see in the following hints: " From their past Hindu heritage and present hard times, these Calcutta youths had welcomed the ideal of renunciation " (p. 71). Swami Vivekananda himself wandered for two years, " sightseeing and brooding " (p. 72). But what had made Swami Vivekananda so great? Certainly not his own gifts, but " American ladies and American reporters, each in their own way, made the handsome Oriental famous " (p. 74). And what has the author to say of chastity as a Christian virtue for the male species of the human kind? That may be inferred from his remark on Vivekananda and the purity of his life among American woman ; " He was himself

too feminine to regard them otherwise than as sisters and mothers" (p. 77). It is not to be surprised at that when Swami Vivekananda, tired of popular applause and wistfully looking back to the days of his mendicancy, longs to be back to his old life as a wandering monk, our wise author bursts out: "It is hard to be a genuine *swami* in America!" (p. 79) These are a few of the "sympathetic," "critical and constructive" judgments (p. 16) which Dr. Thomas claims to have passed.

Is it necessary to quote his remark (insinuation?) on Swami Vivekananda's rejection of the professed Chair at Harvard? "We are told he rejected a Chair of Eastern Philosophy at that celebrated University because he was a *sannyasi*. Perhaps there were other reasons" (p. 81).

The author makes a slip (I do not know if it is wilful or due to ignorance) by crediting Swamiji with "great strides" in the matter of "mass education, specially the novel education of girls and women" (p. 84). We know that Swamiji made *plans* only and could not have the time to apply them to action in the brief span of his life. But the writer wants this credit to go to Christianity, for, he says (p. 263):—"This zeal for social welfare seems to have come from Christianity, not from his master Ramkrishna, who always felt a disgust for service." This is as wrong as wrong can be, for it was Sri Ramkrishna who asked Vivekananda not to lose himself in meditation (*nirvikalpa samadhi*), but to devote himself to the service of humanity as the God of his worship. "*Shiva jnane jeeva seva*"—service to the living being with the idea that he is Shiva or God; this was his injunction to his favourite disciple, and there is no reason to ignore or doubt the authenticity of this report.

When facts of Ramkrishna's and Swamiji's life have thus been twisted, and twisted deliberately, what wonder if we come across wilful misreadings and possible misunderstandings? "God is the only reality. The world is quite separate from God. Hence the world is unreal" (p. 88). What a charmingly simple explanation of the unreality of the Universe! Again, "Gandhi has ordered the New Testament read in all *swaraj* schools" (p. 244).

Enough has been said about the purpose and the attitude of the book. Will this invasion of America by Hinduism persist? Will this cultural reaction of India on the West last for any considerable time? Dr. Sudhindra Bose in his article *Vedantists in America* (Modern Review, March, 1930) observed:

"The prospects for Vedanta work in this country, according to those who are in close touch with it, are bright ... The people with whom the

swamis come into contact are mostly sympathetic towards India and Indian Philosophy. One must not forget, however, that they have to work against many handicaps: foreign customs, foreign tongue, opposition of Christian churches and inherited inertia. Besides, the American mass mind craves for entertainments and emotionalism."

Any one who exposes absurdities and impostures has a right to be heard. Any one, who humorously touches on the foibles of man, or on his provincial angularities, has an equal right to laugh at us. But when, under the guise of our sympathisers, we have twisted judgment of men and things, I am quite sure the book carries its poison to unsuspecting minds. While appreciating the mass of information contained in the book, and sympathising with the author for his ridicule of possible (and inevitable) pretenders to spiritual experience, I cannot extend my appreciation beyond, and the statements made, supported by passages from the text as quoted above, are charges against the book and its author.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Thy Servant a Dog. Rudyard Kipling, Messrs. Macmillan & Co, Ltd., London, 1930. 5s. net.

Kipling does not require any critic at this time of the day to explain and admire him. His fame is established and whatever we may think of his Imperialism, the roll and march of his verses is properly appraised in the history of modern English literature, or at any rate, an attempt is made in that line. Here we have an exquisite performance, an "autobiographic" fragment by a dog named "Boots." It is not at all like the well-known German novel translated into English as *My Dog and I*, the story of a holy comradeship between man and dog, but we are given the more interesting account of a dog's life told by the creature itself. The dumb animal has found a voice in Kipling's story. In some of the passages the sympathy of the author has succeeded wonderfully well; the sense of loss felt by a dog on the death of a companion comes out in all its pathos and the artist's conception takes the reader captive. A rare imaginative insight into a dog's life, combined with a powerful command of language will commend the work to the notice of all lovers of imagination; whether they are fervent admirers of the canine species or not does not matter.

One feels tempted to quote at length many of the passages in order to convey adequately a sense of the power and excellence of the book, but restraint is necessary for the sake of observing proportions. Reference

may be made to episode X, Oct. 1923, p. 16, which echoes in unison with many among the wise. The task attempted by the author is harder than trying to express sympathy in a direct fashion and, as we have said already, the performance has been exquisite.

It would be a reprehensible omission if we were to pass over the artist Mr. G. L. Stampa whose accompanying sketches set forth the writer's ideas in a vivid manner; they deserve high praise and possess an independent interest of their own.

It is impossible to conclude this short notice of the book without presenting to our readers *one* extract, and we choose the final passage regarding the death of the dog's companion.

"I wented to his lie-down in fern. I wented to walk and Wood Ride and micefied, and all those old places which was. He were not there. So I came back and waited, in Orchard, where he cast up blinded that night, which were my true friend Ravager, which were always good to me since we was almost pups, and never minded of my *short* legs or because I were stoopid. *But* he did not come.....

"Please, this is finish for always about Ravager and me and all those times. Please, I am very little small mis'able dog!.....I do not understand!.....I do not understand!" (p. 93).

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Company I have kept. By Henry S. Salt. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1930.

This is a most engaging book, the outcome of a genial personality. Mr. Salt is one of those people whose reforming zeal has not suffered by the lapse of time. His spirit is akin to that of Thoreau and Edward Carpenter, and the natural affection he feels for nature peeps here and there from these his reminiscences. His life has been spent in communion with the hills and the dales, and he has shunned the "freedom" of English cities for the sake of the freedom of the mountains. In these pages he is describing the company that he had kept, and what a wealth of remarkable memories—varied, progressive and purifying! Mr. Salt possesses a rare humanity which overflows into even the animal kingdom and makes him a vegetarian both in principle and practice.

His life has not been, however, always in quiet and "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife." Real humanity does not like the quiet of inaction or retirement but goes out to combat the many expressions of inhumanity so often to be met with in the walks of life. Mr. Salt counts lines from Shelley and poems from Swinburne among his prized possessions,

but his struggle is gently hinted at in a sentence: "I left the Fabian Society, together with a few other members, one of whom was Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, at the time of the Boer War, the executive being unwilling to make the protest that we thought desirable against hostilities of such a mean character." Even the humble ambition of an assistant-mastership at Eton could not be long cherished by one who had adopted a vegetarian diet, and had the temerity to abstain from regular church-going. But the poet-naturalists of all ages continued to feed the fire of idealism.

Many passages in the book will find a place in the reader's heart. Among other things, his remark that "the final test in art is not originality but achievement" is characteristic of one whose days have been made up of Virgil, vegetarianism and vagaries like socialism. Of particular interest to the Indian reader is the reference to Mahatma Gandhi, who had read Mr. Salt's *Plca for Vegetarianism* from cover to cover on meeting with dietary difficulties at London and became a vegetarian by choice in consequence.

The attitude of the writer, grave and wistful, is charming. "The company of friends, whether they be human friends or sub-human, is the surest solace for the inevitable disappointments in life." Nothing could have better justified the writing of the book.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

The Eurasian Problem—Constructively approached. By Kenneth E. Wallace. Thacker Spink & Co.

The book is an attempt at a constructive study and solution of the Eurasian problem in India from historical, political, communal and educational standpoints. The Eurasians constitute a problem more to themselves and the ruling race than to the country at large. The great drawback of the community was a lack of communal sense and feeling of solidarity which characterise a compact body. They occupy an unenviable position, being despised by the English rulers, with whom they claim racial affinity, and being looked askance at by the people of the land. Though disillusionment is beginning to dawn upon them, they have not yet been able to shake off the incubus of their sense of pride of so-called British descent. The author is a Eurasian himself and has given his best consideration and thought to the pressing needs of the community. What is really creditable he has not been content to be an arm-chair critic, but has come forward with definite schemes and suggestions for the amelioration of his community. And these schemes are not unworkable, and impracticable vagaries. It will really do good to his community if they

take these into serious consideration and set about to implement them in tangible reforms. The author has put forward a strong and impassioned appeal for inter-communal co-operation, which, he rightly thinks, is necessary for the interests of the country as a whole. This co-operation is rather shy to-day and unless the Eurasians completely disabuse their minds of false pride and shake off their sense of dependence on the favours of the rulers, they cannot find their rightful place in the national movement that is going on in India. The Eurasians should make themselves indispensable by virtue of their own efficiency and for this they must fall back upon their own resources irrespective of favour or frown from interested quarters. They must give up the ostrich-like attitude and false sense of security born of spoon-feeding and intensely feel in the inmost recesses of their minds that they are sons of the soil as much as the Indians. They must make the problems of India their own and fight shoulder to shoulder with the Indians for political emancipation. The whimpering attitude, the cringing mentality, must be abandoned once for all. It will not bring them political and economic salvation to importune the rulers or to harp on their loyalty. We therefore have not been able to sympathise with the sentiment of Lt.-Col. A. A. E. Baptist as expressed in his statement, "The 'next war' if we have one, will see the British Empire relying on the loyalty of the Eurasian community just as much as it did in the past." The statement betrays the 'inferiority complex' which he seeks to combat. Loyalty is a good thing, when it is inspired by natural feelings; but it betrays sordid mentality when it is offered in a spirit of bargain and for consideration of advantages to be gained. Besides, this mentality is not compatible with the spirit of sturdy nationalism; nor is it conducive to the real interests of the community concerned. Such loyalty may bring in return a few crumbs from the master's table, but not nationhood, far less liberty. We hope the Eurasians as a community would realise this unpalatable truth and cast in their lot with the sons of the soil.

S. MOOKERJEE



THE LATE MR. S. KHUDA BUKSHI

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THE LATE MR. S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

The sudden death of Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.), at his Calcutta residence in Lansdowne Road on Sunday, the 9th August, at the comparatively early age of fifty-four removes from our midst a great scholar, an able lawyer, a man of wide culture, a scholarly interpreter of Islamic culture and civilisation, a successful teacher, and a charming personality. We have lost in him a personal friend and a distinguished contributor to our Review. The late Mr. Khuda Bukhsh was remarkable for his passionate devotion to learning, high ideal of scholarship, vast and yet accurate knowledge, liberal ideas and views, sweet reasonableness and the polished manners of a finished gentleman. He cherished with an intense love amounting to a romantic passion the dear memory of his seven years of residence at Oxford which moulded his life and character for good. Though a staunch adherent of the Prophet, he was singularly free from any taint of communal bias. This worthy son of the late Khuda Bukhsh, the renowned founder of the well-known Khuda Bukhsh Library of Patna, appropriately found the highest delight in spending the best part of his days and nights in his own private library given to close study and poetic musing. He possessed a thorough knowledge of many languages and literatures—Greek, Latin, French, German, Arabic, Persian and Urdu and his mastery of English was superb.

Among his enduring works particular mention should be made of (1) *Contribution to the History of Islamic Civilization*, (2) *History of the Islamic Peoples* and (3) *The Orient under the Caliphs* (both translations from authoritative German Works), (4) *Politics in Islam*, (5) *The Arab Civilisation* and (6) *Studies—Indian and Islamic*.

Mr. Khuda Bukhsh was for years a distinguished Lecturer in History of Islam in the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University, an able Professor of the University Law College and a very useful member of the University Senate.

He was noted for his independence of spirit and fairmindedness and his speeches in our academic discussions were often illuminated with flashes of wit and a rich humour. Above all, he succeeded in winning all hearts by his amiable disposition and unfailing courtesy.

We record with grief our deep sense of loss at his death and convey our sincere sympathy to his bereaved family.

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READERSHIP LECTURES.

The Syndicate have recommended to the Senate that Mr. C. S. Rangaswami, Editor of "Indian Finance," be appointed a Reader of this University to deliver a course of lectures on "Indian Finance in relation to World Finance" on an honorarium of Rs. 1,000.

The Syndicate have recommended to the Senate that Dr. Upendranath Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D., be appointed an Honorary Reader of this University, to deliver during the current session a course of lectures on "Ancient Indian Historical Literature."

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RESULTS OF THE B.Sc. EXAMINATION, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the B.Sc. Examination, 1931, was 862 of whom 40 being absent and 4 transferred to other centres, the number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 818. Of these 2 were

expelled, 535 were successful and 281 failed. Of the successful candidates 450 were placed on the Pass List and 85 on the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List 10 were placed in the First Class and 75 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List 121 passed with Distinction. The percentage of passes is 65·4.

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RESULTS OF THE B.A. EXAMINATION, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 3,266, of whom 156 being absent and 6 transferred to other centres, the number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 3,104. Of these 23 were expelled, 1,974 were successful and 1,107 failed. Of the successful candidates 1,453 were placed on the Pass List and 329 on the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List 30 were placed in the First Class and 299 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List 178 passed with Distinction. The percentage of passes is 63·5.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

Lectures on the Mean Value Theorem of the Differential Calculus, by Professor Ganesh Prasad, D.Sc. Royal 8vo., pp. 108 + viii.

The Central Authority in British India, 1774-1784, by Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.). Demy 8vo., pp. 368 + xiii.

A Mundari-English Dictionary, by Manindrabhusan Bhaduri, B.L., with an Introduction, by Rai Bahadur Saratchandra Ray, M.A., B.L., M.L.C. Demy 8vo., pp. 229 + xvi.

Desinamamala, edited with Introduction and Index by Pandit Muralydhara Banerjee, M.A. Royal 8vo. pp. 336 + iv.

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXI. Royal 8vo., pp. 410. Rs. 6.

BOOKS IN THE PRESS IN SEPTEMBER, 1931

1. History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, by Prof. M. Winternitz, translated into English by Mrs. S. Ketkar.
2. Siddhanta-Sekhara, edited by Pandit Babua Misra, Jyotishacharyya.
3. Surya-Siddhanta, edited with Notes, by Mr. Phanindralal Ganguli, M.A., P.R.S.
4. Asoka, *Second Edition*, by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
5. Brahmanical Gods in Buddhist Burma, by Mr. Nihar-ranjan Ray, M.A., P.R.S.
6. Purva-Banga Gitika, Vol. IV, Part I, edited with In-troduction and Notes, by Rai Dineschandra Sen, Bahadur, B.A., D.Litt.
7. Adwaita-Brahma-Siddhi, Part II, edited by Mahamaho-padhyay Gurucharan Tarka-Darshantirtha and Pandit Panchanan Tarkabagis.
8. Collected Geometrical Papers, Part II, by Prof Syama-das Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
- 9 Consolidated List of Graduates.
10. University Question Papers for the year 1929.
11. Manoelda Assampeaos Bengali Grammar, edited by Prof. S. K. Chatterji, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), and Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A.
12. Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. II, by Dr. Hem-chandra Ray, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
13. Theory of Plane Curves, Part I, *Third Edition*, by Dr. S. M. Ganguli, D.Sc.
14. Some Bengal Villages and Economic Survey, by Messrs. Nirmalchandra Bhattacharyya, M.A., and L. A. Nate-san, M.A.
15. Eastern Bengal Ballads, Vol. IV, Part I, with Introduction and Notes, by Rai D. C. Sen, Bahadur, B.A., D.Litt.

16. The Land Problem of India, by Prof. Radhakamal Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D.
 17. Political History of Ancient India, *Third Edition*, by Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.
 18. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXII.
 19. Linguistic Speculation of the Hindus, by Dr. Prabhat-chandra Chakrabarti, M.A., Ph.D.
 20. Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures on the Contribution of Christianity to Ethics, by Prof. C. Webb, M.A., D.Litt. (Oxon.).
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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

VII. LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

2. BENGALI

Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts in the Calcutta University Library, Vol. I, Edited by Basantarajan Ray, Vidvatvallabh, and Basantakumar Chatterjee, M.A. Demy 4to., pp. 252. Rs. 3-0.

Contains short description of 286 of the large collection of Bengali MSS. in the University of Calcutta.

Do. Vol. II. Demy 4to. pp. 264. Rs. 3.

3. OTHER INDIAN VERNACULARS

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Appendices

- * **Chapters on Algebra** (being the First Three Chapters of Matrices and Determinoids, Vol. III), by C. E. Cullis, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc. Sup. Royal 8vo. pp. 191. 1920. Rs. 11-4.

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